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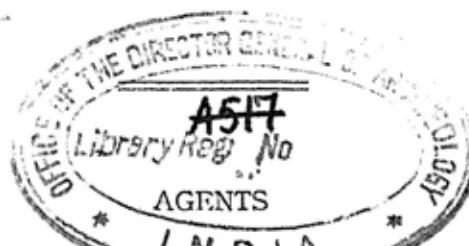
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SPRING AND AUTUMN FIRES IN JAPAN.

Professor J. G. Fraser, in his inquiry into the origin and purpose of the European fire-festivals, definitely accepts the theory of Dr. Westermarck and rejects that of W. Manhardt. The latter's theory is that the fires were intended to reinforce the sun's light and heat by sympathetic magic, while that of the former is that they were "merely to burn or repel the noxious things, whether conceived as material or spiritual, which threaten the life of man, of animals and of plants." Professor Fraser, however, thinks "the evidence for the purificatory theory of the fires is perhaps not quite conclusive." It may be that if we consider the Spring and Autumn fires of Japan, we can add some evidence in support of that theory, for in beginning a study of these fire-festivals one is at once struck by the great similarity between the methods of celebration used here and those of Europe in general. The celebrations are so much alike in their fundamental characteristics that one might say the only substantial difference is in point of the time at which the fires are kindled. In Europe the principal times for lighting the fires are the first day of May for the Spring fires, and Midsummer Day for the Summer ones, while the Spring fires of Japan occur on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the first month O.S., and the Autumn fires take place on some day in the seventh month. In other words, while the fires of Europe burn at some date near the vernal equinox and at the time of the sun's greatest heat, in Japan they occur at about the middle of our February, in the month called the beginning of Spring, and on some day in our August, in the month called the beginning of Autumn in the old style of reckoning. It is true that some of the customs connected with the Japanese Spring fires resemble those in vogue at the Twelfth Day fires in Europe and others again are like the Midsummer customs, but this mixing of the customs, or rather the combining of several festivals into one,

for that is what it amounts to, seems to me evidence in favor of the view that the fires have no immediate connection with the sun, but rather that they celebrate Spring, the time of rejuvenation for men, plants, and animals. Again, no reference spoken or acted is made to the sun, although the religion of the people is sun-worship, while every act and every rite in the fire-festivals of both Spring and Autumn have to do with the reproduction or the health of earthly things, men, animals, and plants.

Except in regard to the times of their celebration, the manners of holding the fire-festivals in Europe and Japan correspond in many particulars. A description of the Beltane fires, for instance, written by John Ramsey, laird of Ochtertyre, and quoted by Professor Fraser in "Balder the Beautiful," would fit in many of its details the Spring fires of Japan.¹

"Of later years" he says, "it is chiefly attended to by young people, persons advanced in years considering it as inconsistent with their gravity to give it any countenance."

In Japan too the Spring fires are essentially a children's festival, tho' here also old people say they used to attend them in their youth, and in many cases do so still.

"Like the other public worship of the Druids, the Beltane feast seems to have been performed on hills and eminences."

Both Spring and Autumn fires in Japan were often built on hills or on artificial mounds.

"Thither the young folks repaired in the morning, and cut a trench, on the summit of which a seat of turf was formed for the company. And in the middle a pile of wood or other fuel was placed, which of old they kindled with *tein-eigin*—i.e. forced-fire or *need-fire*."

The Japanese fires are usually burned at dawn, and I shall give instances where mounds are used for supporting a central

¹ The Golden Bough. 3rd edition. "Balder the Beautiful," vol. I, pg. 147. See also Brand's Popular Antiquities, edition of 1903, vol. I, pg. 318.

pillar of wood and where the fire is obtained certainly from a shrine and probably by the use of fire-drill or of flint and steel.

"After kindling the fire with *tein-eigin* the company prepared their victuals, and as soon as they had finished their meal, they amused themselves a while by singing and dancing around the fire."

I have found no account of actual dancing for amusement around the fires here, but in several place children and young men are said to jump about and shout while the fires are burning, and in general great gaiety is expressed at the festivals.

"Towards the close of the entertainment, the person who officiated as master of the feast produced a large cake baked with eggs and scalloped round the edge, called *am bonnach beal-tine*—i.e., the Beltane cake. It was divided into a number of pieces, and distributed with great form to the company. There was one particular piece which whoever got was called *caillach beal-tine*—i.e., the Beltane carline, a term of great reproach. Upon his being known, a part of the company laid hold of him and made a show of putting him into the fire; but the majority interposing, he was rescued. And in some places they laid him flat upon the ground, making as if they would quarter him."

At Akita, where the feast after the fire is held in a house instead of out of doors, the master of the house, at the end of the feast, divides a large cake among the company, but there is no mention, in the accounts I have, that any pretence is made of sacrificing one of the crowd. Incidents at other places, however, seem to point towards such a sacrifice in olden days.

"It is probable that at the original Beltane festival there were two fires kindled near one another."

Many of the Spring fires in Japan were built in pairs, but not, as in Scotland, for the purpose of driving cattle between them. Here cattle were few, and the two fires were kindled in competition with each other, to see which would burn the longer, thereby foretelling the luck of the year or the state of the crops.

Just as in Europe the Spring and Summer fires are intim-

ately connected with the ancient tree-worship and through this with the worship of gods of fertility,¹ so in Japan the fires have apparently come from an ancient adoration of the tree-spirit and a belief in its power of enhancing reproduction.

But the celebrations of the fire-festivals in Japan have other characteristics, besides the ones compared with the Beltane fires, whose parallels may be illustrated by quoting from Prof. Fraser's description of the Lenten fires in Belgium and the northern part of France.

"Thus in the Belgian Ardennes for a week or a fortnight before the 'day of the great fire,' as it is called, children go about from farm to farm collecting fuel. At Grand Halleux any one who refuses their request is pursued next day by the children, who try to blacken his face with the ashes of the extinct fire. . . . At Grand Halleux they set up a pole called *makral*, or 'the witch,' in the midst of the pile, and the fire is kindled by the man who was last married in the village. . . .

. . . In Brabant on the same Sunday (First Sunday in Lent), down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, women and men disguised in female attire used to go with burning torches to the fields, where they danced and sang comic songs for the purpose, as they alleged, of driving away 'the wicked sower', who is mentioned in the Gospel for the day, In the French department of the Ardennes the whole village used to dance and sing around the bonfires which were lighted on the first Sunday in Lent. Here, too, it was the person last married, sometimes a man and sometimes a woman, who put the match to the fire. . . . Again, in the district of Beauce a festival of torches (brandons or brandelons) used to be held on both the first and second Sundays in Lent; the first was called 'the Great Torches' and the second 'the Little Torches.' The torches were, as usual, bundles of straw wrapped around poles.

¹ See *The Golden Bough*, 3rd edition, "The Magic Art," Vol. I, pgs. 7 to 119.

In the evening the village lads carried the burning brands through the country, running about in disorder and singing."

Now on starting a description of the fires in Japan, I shall first consider the ceremony as it was held in the Imperial Court, because, although here it was largely mixed with Chinese customs, the fact that it was held at all shows that the celebration was a national one and not confined to one part of the people. The fires were kindled on the fifteenth day of the first month, and were known by two names, "Sagicho" and "Tondo." This is what the *Wakan Sansai Tsue*, an encyclopedia first printed about two hundred years ago, says about them:

"The proper characters for the word 'Tondo' are not known. It is commonly called 'Sagicho.'"¹

And after quoting from Chinese books to show the difference between the customs of Chinese and Japanese; it goes on:

"In Japan, on the fifteenth day of the first month, green bamboos are burned in the enclosure of the Seiryoden (temple). At the same time lucky writings are offered to Heaven.² Bamboos are also burned in the Seiryoden enclosure on the eighteenth day of the month. They are arranged in a decorative fashion and fans are fixed to them. When they are afire, four

¹ Mr. Oshiba, in his papers in the magazine *Kiodo Kenkyu* suggests the two characters 遠, *Tō*, far, distant, and 堂, *Dō*, a temple, shrine, or hall; because the "huts" often built for this festival were usually placed at a distance from the villages or dwellings. But as this would necessitate giving a Japanese pronunciation to one character and a Chinese pronunciation to the other, it does not seem a good suggestion. It is probably only a coincidence, though it surely is a strange one, that a word sounding much like "tondo" is used in Brittany for the bonfires of St. John's night. This word is *tantad*. See "Balder the Beautiful." Vol. I, pg. 183.

² The word is written with three characters, 三, *Sa*, three, 球, *Ki*, ball, and 打, *Cho*, to beat.

³ This means that papers on which propitious words are written are burned so that the ashes ascend in the heat towards the sky. The writing was done by boys on the first day of the year.

persons come forward called 'Daikoku Matsu-Taiyu,' two of whom wear masks of old men's faces and two of old women's. They wear on their heads wigs called '*shaguma*'¹ The two 'old women' carry drums in their hands and the 'old men' beat the drums. Two boys, without masks but wearing wigs, beat drums which are fastened to their waists, and beside them are five persons wearing *kamishimo* who stand and repeat the words 'Tondo ya! Tondo ya!', while one man dressed in *hakama* answers with the words 'Ha! Ha!'. The origin of the ceremony is unknown. It is said that the same ceremony was held in China in the reign of the Emperor Mei of the Han Dynasty, and that this may be a relic of the trial by fire between the Taoist and Buddhist scriptures, but as the ceremony in Japan is not connected with Buddhism, this saying can not be relied upon. Among the common people, on the morning of the fifteenth, the New Year's decorations, the straw, pine-trees, and bamboos, are gathered, piled in a heap, and burned. This custom is called 'Tondo.' Children offer to Heaven specimens of their hand-writing. The Imperial House performs this ceremony twice, but the common people only once."²

¹ Literally, *red bear*, but made of the hair from the end of a bull's tail and dyed red.

² Compare this with an account of a May-Day custom in Hertfordshire. "Throughout the day these Mayers are seen dancing and frolicking in various parts of the town. The group that I saw to-day, which remained in Bancroft more than an hour, was composed as follows:—First came two men with their faces blacked, one of them with a birch broom in his hand, and a large artificial hump on his back; the other dressed as a woman, all in rags and tatters, with a large straw bonnet on, and carrying a ladle; these are called 'Mad Moll and her Husband.' Next came two men, one most fantastically dressed with ribbons, and a great variety of gaudy-coloured handkerchiefs tied around his arms, from the shoulders to the wrists, and down his thighs and legs to the ankles; he carried a drawn sword in his hand; leaning upon his arm was a youth dressed as a fine lady, in white muslin, and profusely decked from top to toe with gay ribbons; these, I understood, were called the 'Lord and Lady of the com-

The Wakan Sanzai Tsue does not state the sex of most of the performers but it may be taken as certain that they were men. The supplementary performance of a ceremony is common in Shinto religious rites, and in this case goes to show the ceremony was an important one.

Kaibara Ekiken, a noted physician of the seventeenth century,² who published in 1689 a book called "Nihon Saijiki" (Japanese Yearly Ceremonies) is another writer, like the author of the *Wakan Sanzai Tsue*, inclined to derive all Japanese customs from the Chinese. He says that the fire-festivals of the year are celebrated in China on the days called "Jogen," "Chugen," and "Kagen," that is, the fifteenth days of the 1st, 7th, and 10th months. He advises the continuance of the custom of burning the New Year decorations, the *kadomatsu*, *shimenawa*, etc., but warns his readers against setting the fires too near the house, because, as he says, "there have lately been several cases of houses having caught fire from the exploding bamboos." "The origin of the burning of green bamboos in these fires is unknown, but if there is no wind, the fires may be lighted in the evening outside the gate," and he gives quotations to show that this has been done since ancient times in both China and Japan. In this connection I may say that the burning of the decorations in Yokohama has always, as far as living people can remember, been performed on the evening of the fourteenth of the month, and this has been the habit in many other places, though I think the older custom was to burn them at dawn on the fifteenth.

pany.' After these, followed six or seven couples more, attired much in the same style as the lord and lady, only the men without swords. When this group received a satisfactory contribution at any house, the music struck up from a violin, clarionet, and fife, accompanied by the long drum, and they began a merry dance and very well they danced, I assure you; the men-women looked and footed it so much like *real* women, that I stood in great doubt as to which sex they belonged to, till Mrs. J. assured me that women were not permitted to mingle in these sports. "Brand's" Popular Antiquities. Vol. I, pg. 229.

Kaibara also relates the Buddhist tradition that the *Sagicho* comes from the trial by fire of the Taoist and Buddhist scriptures by the Emperor Mei of the Han Dynasty, and derives the word *Sagicho* from the three characters, 左 Sa, left; 義 Ki, principle; and 長 Cho, excellence; because the Buddhist books were placed on the left-hand side when the trial by fire took place. But he also says this derivation is not reliable, because the Buddhist priests who hold to this tradition would naturally be prejudiced in favor of their own religion. He quotes, with apparent favor, a book called "Kaigen Iji," which says that in India Buddhist priests assemble on the night of the 15th of the first month, kindle many lights, and worship the bones of the Buddha,¹ but that they have never had the custom of burning green bamboos. The book "Hokinaiden," by Abe no Seimei, a famous astrologer, mentions a religious society whose name, Sakicho Shosai-E, means "Society for the Destruction of the Three Poisons" (Cupidity, Anger, and Folly), but Kaibara rejects this derivation also, and I mention all these attempted etymologies only as instances of the many guesses that have been made at the meaning of the word *Sagicho*.

Two or three stories are given by Kaibara Ekiken to show that the purpose of exploding bamboos is to drive away evil vapors and demons. One of them is as follows:—"The purpose of exploding green bamboos is to disperse devilish vapors. The following is a true story. There was once an old man named Chuto. He was afflicted by a mountain devil to such an extent that he could not even open his door or windows, for the devil continually threw stones at his house. The old man called in a female diviner and had her curse the devil, but the annoyance became even more serious. Finally, Riden, the author of the book in which this story appears, told the old man he had better explode several tens of bamboos during one day and night, just as is done at the end of the year. The old man accepted the

¹ If this is true, it suggests an older derivation for our word "bonfire" than the "bone-fires" of the reign of Henry VIII.

advice, exploded the bamboos, and after that the devil stopped tormenting him." Kaibara's idea that the burning of bamboos in the Sagicho ceremony was with the purpose of driving away evil spirits and that the custom came from China is probably a true one, but it does not explain the reason for the fires themselves, although it does reinforce the theory that the whole ceremony is purificatory.

Kaneyoshi's "Tsurezuregusa," so beautifully translated by Mr. Sansom¹, says:—"The 'Sangicho' is the ceremony of taking the mallets and balls which were used at the New Year from the Shin-gon-In to the Shinsen Garden and there burning them. The words 'the pond of the law fulfilled' which they chant refer to the pond in the Shinsen Garden." Now Mr. Oshiba Furukusu, in a paper in the magazine "Kiodo Kenku"², shows that in many places in Japan, at or near the beginning of the year, games with balls and mallets or sticks have been played for the purpose of foretelling the condition and amount of the crops. The sticks or mallets, limited in number by the rules of the game in some places to three, were called "*kitcho*," ball-beaters, and this word was afterwards used as the name of the game itself. In the same way, the name for the mallets used in the game at the Shin-gon-In, Sagicho, i.e. *Three* Ball-beaters, may have been taken over for the name of the ceremony of burning them, and this ceremony, occurring on the same day as the "Tondo," the burning of the New Year decorations, may have become confused with it.

Mr. Oshiba, on all of whose articles in the "Kiodo Kenku" I am depending largely for information, says that the Sagicho festival in the Imperial Court began on the night of the fifteenth of the first month and continued the following day. There was a secondary festival held early in the morning of the eighteenth at which dances were performed by court officials, but no fire was burned on this day. On the fifteenth, the

¹ Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXIX.

² See "Sagicho." Kiodo Kenku, Vol. IV, No. 10.

"Shicho," or officers of branch offices in the governmental service, played on various musical instruments. The ceremony seems to have been carried out in the Court with all the well-known veneration for etiquette that distinguishes other courtly rites.

But among the common people the burning of the *kadomatsu* and most of the other *kasarimono* was performed in a free and easy manner. In fact, the festival was the occasion for a great deal of laxity in both manners and morals. It was a time when servants became, in some degree at least, masters, and masters servants. At the "Tondo," or "Dondo," all the New Year decorations, such as the *kadomatsu*, *shimenawa*, oranges, ferns, lobsters,—in fact, everything but the *awabo* and the *hebo*¹ were burned, usually on the evening of the fourteenth. It was the beginning of the festival of the Sae no Kami which was held on the following day. In Tokyo and in some other parts of the country on that day, and on that day only during the year, boys were allowed to beg for money from house to house.² They were particularly attentive to the houses where there were newly married couples. Some of the boys carried sticks about a foot long and shaved so that the shavings hung from the end in a tassel, and with them beat the backs of any women they happened to meet.³ Some boys carried about small boats four feet long, fitted with masts to which *gohei* were

¹ The *awa-bo* and *hei-bo*, sometimes called *abo-hebo*, literally "ear of ('Italian') millet" and "ear of (another kind of) millet," were two bundles of peeled willow sticks with *kedzurikake*, or "shaved sticks," stuck in the ends. They were placed on the *toshidana*, altar, during the New Year celebrations, and afterwards thrown into running water or fixed at the mouths of irrigating ditches as a protection against insects. Sometimes five *kedzurikake* were fastened to a bamboo instead of the bundle of willow sticks. See Dr. N. Gordon Munro's "Prehistoric Japan," pg. 124.

² This was probably a substitute in the city of the custom of begging in the country for fuel for the fires.

³ Compare Brand's Popular Antiquities, vol. I, pg. 241. In Lincolnshire the boys "annually keep up the festival of the *Floralia* on May Day, making a procession to this hill with May gads (as they call them) in their

fastened, and begged money "for Sae no Kami."¹ All these boys spent the money for a feast of goodies in the evening.

The form of the fires of the Sagicho festival is shown in a picture in the Wakan Sanzai Tsue and another in the Nihon Sajiki. The pictures show bamboos piled in a cone around a central bamboo whose branches and leaves are not removed. Opened fans and other decorations are fixed to the branches, and the piled bamboos are fastened in place with ropes. This conical shape is noticeable. It is carried out in every Spring fire throughout the country. In addition to the building of fires, tall bamboo poles were generally raised in the city of Yedo before each house. They were wrapped toward the top with a bundle of straw, and *gohei*, or "*ombei*" as they were usually

hands. This is a white willow wand, the bark peeled off, ty'd round with cowslips, a thyrsus of the Bacchinal. At night they have a bonefire, and other merriment, which is really a sacrifice or religious-festival."

¹ This is not the only example of the use of boats in the worship of the Sae no Kami. At Suwa Myojin, an old shrine in the village of Miyagi, Shinano Province, the custodian of the keys of the shrine offers to the god every year at the time of the festival an umbrella whose central rod is a spear (*kasaboko*) and a boat. The use of boats in this festival has been referred by Japanese to a passage in the Nihongi (See W. G. Aston's "Shinto," pg. 158) where Kahabe no Omi, being ordered to build ships had an altercation with the Thunder God and overcame him. But I prefer to think it the vestige of an ancient custom of purification like that of the island of Ceram, where "when the whole village suffers from sickness, a small ship is made filled with rice, tobacco, eggs, and so forth, which have been contributed by the people." After bidding all sicknesses to depart, sail away, and never return," "ten or twelve men carry the vessel to the shore, and let it drift away with the land breeze, feeling convinced that they are free from sickness forever, or at least till the next time." (See The Golden Bough: "The Scapegoat," pg. 185.) Thirty or forty years ago, in the province of Satsuma, men guilty of capital crime were put into a small boat, without food, water, or paddles and made to drift away on the sea. This custom was called the "*ōki sayonara*," or "great farewell." Or the use of the boat in the festival may possibly have come from a mistaken idea of the meaning of the word "*Funado*," the name of one of the three Sae no Kami, though this is unlikely. (See Aston's "Shinto," pg. 186).

called, were stuck in the straw. These poles were called "Ombei-dake" or "bonten." The word "bonten" or "bon-den" has been much discussed. Mr. Oshiba thinks its original meaning was "torch." He says it may be a corruption of the word *hote* which in some provinces is used for the usual word *taimatsu*, a torch. The tree-trunk on which the Autumn fires are sometimes lighted is also called *hote* or *hoten*. Smaller *bonten* were also carried about during this festival. An ordinance of the year 1666 (Kwambun, 6th year), says, "From now on *bonten* and *kamban* are not allowed to be shown in the streets by *yamabushi* or by pilgrims." But, says Mr. Oshiba, it is well known that the *yamabushi* still continue to blow their conch-shells and carry the *bonten* about.

In the country, away from the large cities, the methods of burning the New Year decorations in preparation for the festival of the Sae no Kami were very different from those used in and about the Imperial Court. In many places, perhaps in most places, bamboos were burned and these bamboos were decorated with *gohei* and fans, but it is questionable whether the original idea in burning them was only to explode them and thus drive away demons by the noise, as is done in China. It seems probable that they were used because they were poles, but I shall speak of this later on. The burning was sometimes called "ombei-yaki," and the bamboos were usually fixed in the earth at the top of a hill or on an artificial mound. Where mounds were used they were built at cross-roads or at the end of the village. Several villages or parts of villages have taken their names from these mounds; for instance, Bondendzuka at Higashi Tomioka in Sagami Province, Bontendzuka at Kemmigawamachi, Shimosa Province, Bontenchi in Hongo-mura, also in Shimosa Province, Bontenba in Yodogawa-mura, Ugo Province, etc., etc. In many places huts were built on these mounds by boys or young men. These huts were burned together with the Near Year decorations. At places where no huts were set up the fires were made in pairs and a contest was held as to

which of the bamboos in the centers of the fires would fall first, the party whose bamboo stood the longer being thought to have won the game. But this seems to have been the custom rather in the towns than among the villages, especially those in the warmer parts of the country. It was in the colder parts of the land and among the mountains, for instance in Hitachi, Shinano, and Echigo, that huts were built. They were in use for several days before the festival, and Mr. Oshiba thinks that the state of the weather at that time of the year may account for their construction. It seems more probable, however, that it was an ancient custom that had no connection with the weather.

In Iwashiro-gori, Iwaki Province, the villagers used to gather together on the fifteenth day of the first month and build what they called "tori-goya" (bird-huts). They put the New Year decorations in this hut and then burned the whole thing. The reason they give for calling the huts "bird-huts" is that they sang in them the songs which children sing when they drive the birds away from the growing crops. This custom still exists in Taga-gori, Hitachi Province, but at this place the children do the building. They start collecting materials for the hut on the first day of the year and continue the building till the night of the fourteenth. During this time they play and eat in the hut. When the fires are lighted the children shout "Wa hoe! Wa hoe!", a cry used in driving the birds away from the rice-fields. Here, as in most other places at present, they call the festival "Sai no Kami's Festival," but at Akita, Ugo Province, further north and on the other side of the island, the festival held on the fourteenth and fifteenth of the first month was called "Kamakura Matsuri." Before the Restoration it was celebrated in a very elaborate manner by the *samurai* class, but now only the boys of the villages around the city keep it up. Grown people used to wave torches about the burning huts and shout the words "Ja hoe! Ja hoe!" They also sang a song the words of which may be translated as follows: "The driving away of birds during the Kamakura Festival should be done in

this way : Cut off the heads of the bird and preserve them in salt ; put them into salt bags and chase them to the island of Sado ; or, if Sado is too near, chase them to Devil Island."¹

A writer in the magazine "Fuzoku Gaho" describes the festival as it was held in the 37th year of Meiji (1904). "Each village selects from boys of about fifteen years of age one who is called "Taisho," or General. His 'troops' consist of boys eight or nine years old. These parties of boys start out on the second of the month on a round of visits to villages in their neighborhood, begging for straw-matting and ropes. They load these things on a sled which they drag with them. After spending two or three days in these visits, they return home pulling the 'snow-cart,' as they call the sled, and shouting a song in chorus. They pile the mats and rope, which they have collected, in a shed, and proceed to dig a large hole in the snow. They build walls of snow about five feet high around the hole and raise a pole in the center of it, making a roof with the mats which they have begged. Then they scatter rice-bran over the floor, and make a pile of two or three mats at one side of it as a seat for the god's spirit. The representative of the spirit (*shintai*), a simple *gohei*, is made by a Shinto priest after purifying himself and putting on his priestly robes. When it is ready, the priest places it in the village shrine and notifies the boys. Then two or three of the elder boys tie straw rope about their legs and run barefooted to the shrine. There they bow to the ground three times, and receiving the *gohei*, bring it to the hut. *Sake* is offered before the *gohei* and it is guarded day and night until the 13th of the month. On that day *sake* and *mochi* are brought from the village to the hut, and on the 14th the *gohei* is taken into the middle of a large field and burned. In front of every house where a boy has been born during the past year *gohei* and flags on which are written the words "Sagicho" or "Kamakura Dajmyojin" are raised in a row. There are also

¹ Sado and Onigashima (Devil Island) were well known as islands to which criminals were banished in the old days.

five or six paper flags of five colors, a Buddhist interpolation. On the night of the 14th the heads of these houses dress in their ceremonial clothes, and going to the field, set fire to the *gohei*. Children bring the mats which have made the roof of the hut, and setting them alight at the fire, wave them about until they all seem to be in the midst of the flames. The blowing of conch-shells and the shouts of the crowd about the fire sound like warcries in a battle. When the fire is burned out, they all go to one of the houses where a boy has been born, and are treated to tea and cakes. Later, a supper is served and every one congratulates the family on the birth of a son. Then the head of the house distributes small cakes called "Kamakura Cakes" and also divides a large cake specially made for the festival in the shape of a diamond. This festival is said to take its name from a warrior named Kamakura Gongoro, who, when an enemy in battle shot an arrow into his eye, pursued and killed him before removing the arrow.¹ This is the story, but the festival is evidently nothing but the Sae no Kami festival. There are several other cases of this festival having been given a new name, especially in recent times, and it often happens that where the old name is retained as far as the sound goes, the character used for the name of the gods, or demons, varies, some using the character for "calamity", some that for "luck", some that for "happiness", some that for "fortress", and some even keeping the original character, for "prevention".

The day following the "Kamakura Festival", the festival of Dōsōjin, the god of roads, is held. Huts are sometimes built specially for this festival, but sometimes huts already built for the first ceremonies are used. But while the huts in the first instance are called "yuki-shiro" (snow-castles), in the second they are

I. This Kamakura Gongoro is mentioned in the "Hogen Monogatari"; in the battle of the Shirakawa Palace, during Sutoku Tenno's rebellion, two brothers from Sagami announce themselves as descendants of Kamakura no Gongoro Kagemasa a follower of Hachiman Taro. See Hogen Monogatari, Vol. II, chap. 2. (T.A.S.J.)

called "kamado" (ovens). This distinction between the two celebrations would seem to show that the confusion of the demons of disease with the phallic god of roads is not yet complete in the province of Ugo. Yet the phallic idea dominates both festivals.

Wherever huts were built, they were used for the initiation of the young people of both sexes into the "mysteries of the god", and for several nights before the festivals they used to stay in them, singing, and playing upon a kind of wooden flute. The same customs were general in Echigo Province, but there they usually made a mound of snow seven or eight feet high by packing the snow with their feet, and then built a hut of wood on top of the mound. In Ojiya, a village of this province, they still build these huts and put a pole of cryptomeria wood in the center. The top of the pole is decorated with *gohei*.

I have said that the form of the Sagicho fires in Yedo was conical. The bamboos were fixed with straw rope around the central pole in the form of a cone. This was, and is, the invariable form of the fires through the country. In Echigo, when water is heated in the fields, the pot is hung from a tripod of sticks. This tripod is called in the local dialect "sangicho", and I would suggest this as further evidence that the name of the festival came from the name of the mallets used in the New Year's game.

Many of the huts used at this festival had the form of a cone or tripod. In the northern part of Shinano Province, when they burn the *shimenawa* and other decorations on the fifteenth day of the first month, they are said to use huts of snow like those built at Akita, but it is not the general custom through the province. The huts are usually of the ordinary kind, made of tree branches, and the central pole is sometimes a long bamboo and sometimes a cryptomeria tree. Bamboos are not always exploded at these fires.

In the country around Numadzu, Suruga Province, the boys did not build huts. On the day of the "Ombei-yaki no Matsuri", as the festival is called there, the boys dragged a four-wheeled cart about the roads and called it "Sai no Kami's.

Shrine".¹ They have the same custom in the province of Kii. After pulling the cart about the town or village, they bring it to a halt in front of the house where the most popular boy lives, in other words, where they themselves are in the habit of gathering. In Izu Province too, no huts are built.

Tagawa-gori, Uzen Province, is another place where huts are not built, but where carts carrying shrines are drawn about. Here they keep the cart from year to year and bring it out only at the festival of the Sae no Kami. The god's *shintai*, or representative, is made of shavings, and called either Saimada, Hoi-takebo or Dainoko, but in the old days it was also named Uzuye, or "*Hare's Cane*." Its shape was probably that of the phallus.

The Sagicho of Aki Province differed from those of other provinces. Here a pole was erected, and fastened to the top was the "*Ō Harai*," of Ise, the *norito*, or invocation, of the Great Purification, an important Shinto ceremony. In front of the pole an altar was set with offerings of the usual kinds. What the fire was like we are not told, but may suppose it was of the usual conical shape. Somewhat like this celebration is the one held in Matsumoto, a large town of Shinano Province. Boys gather together and wrap straw around a tall pole. A leader is chosen and called the "*Betto*". He first bathes in cold water for purification, and then comes to the foot of the pole and entertains the rest of the boys. Mr. Oshiba thinks this was the ancient form of the ceremony, and that the huts called "*tori-goya*", "*yuki-shiro*" and "*kodomo-goya*" were only used at a later time. This may be true, but considering the likeness of these huts to those used in the South Sea Islands and the purpose to which they were put before the festival it is difficult to decide which is the older form of celebration.

¹ "Cybele in like manner was conceived as a goddess of fertility who could make or mar the fruits of the earth; for the people of Augustodunum (Autun) in Gaul used to cart her image about in a waggon for the good of the fields and vineyards while they danced and sang before it, Adonis Attis Osiris. p. 233.

A writer in the "Kiodo Kenku" says that even now *tori-goya* are built every year in the first month in Iwaki Province, though the police, the school-teachers and the young men's societies try to stop the practice. In the writer's own village, Kita-Kabeya, Kusano-mura, Iwaki-gori, three or four huts are built every year on the 12th or 13th of the first month. Children from seven to thirteen years of age beg for two bundles of straw from every house, and for ten bamboos, large and small, from those families which have bamboo groves. From these materials they build the *tori-goya*. Its situation is always at a distance from the dwellings, in a rice-field and near a road. Its size is from six to nine feet square, but varies according to the number of houses in the village. Chestnut or *nara* (oak) poles are planted in the ground for the four corners, and young *cryptomerias* or other small trees are used for the cross-pieces. All this wood is generally stolen. The roof is made of branches of bamboo and fir, and the sides are covered with straw. Inside the hut straw is spread, and a mat is hung instead of a door. A large fire-place is dug in the center. Those villages which have bamboo groves erect beside the hut a large bamboo called the "*Ombei-dake*", leaving some of the leaves at its top. When the hut is ready, the children guard it day and night, and in the evening the young men come and amuse themselves. For fire-wood they split and prepare the poles of which the hut was built in the preceding year. The eldest boy among the children is chosen for "*Koya-Daisho*", or Hut-General, and he instructs the other children. Formerly they used to have some *sake* on hand and made passers-by drink it in the hope of getting a present of money in return, pelting them with snow-balls or playing some other trick on them if they refused; but this is seldom done at present. At night, boys holding torches made of bamboo split and lighted at the hut, set fire to the leaves and bushes on the banks between the rice-fields.¹ This is called "*yaji-yaki*" or

¹ From the fact of their setting fire to the leaves and bushes this custom would seem to be certainly purificatory, rather than with an idea of

"field burning." On the evening of the 14th, men and women, old and young, all come to the hut and toast *mochi*, saying that those who eat *mochi* which has been toasted at the hut's fire will not suffer from headaches.² Some people make a point of visiting seven huts in succession, this being called "Nana-koya-mairi," or "Seven Hut Visiting." The people spend the whole night at the celebrations without sleep. At daybreak on the morning of the 15th, the "toshi-otoko," or man who has been appointed in each house to take charge of the New Year offerings and celebrations in general, gets up at first cock-crow, repeats the cry "Hoe! Hoe! Hoe!", the "bird-chasing cry", and carries the *gohei* which represents *Shogwatsu Sama*, the "god of the year's power, or virtue," towards the "open" direction. Then he goes to the hut, where many of the people are still gathered, and sets it afire, burning at the same time the *kadomatsu*, branches of *sakaki*, and other New Year decorations. While the fire is burning, all the people, old and young, shout "Hoe! Hoe! Hoe!" in chorus. It is said that O *Shogwatsu Sama* rides away on the smoke of the fire, and that the greater the noise and crackling of flames the better. It is also said that the "Old man and woman of Takasago," the mythical personages who symbolize conjugal love and fidelity, appear on this day in the western sky.³

The way of building the huts in Kaga Province is somewhat different, and they do not seem to be used before the ceremony in the same way as in some other places. In the villages of Ishikawa-gori in this province, the young men and boys make large square lanterns, six feet or so on a side, and from

fertilizing the fields; more like the customs of Picardy and Normandy (See "Balder the Beautiful," i, p. 113) than those of Auvergne (Ibid. p. 111). In the former places torches are carried about the fields for the purpose of exorcising or driving away the field-mice, moles, durnel and smut, but in the latter for making the fruit-trees and sown fields bear abundantly.

² This eating of *mochi* toasted at the ceremonial fire is like the eating of the "caudle," made of eggs, butter, oatmeal and milk, and cooked on the Beltane fire. See *Balder the Beautiful*, i, p. 152.

³ *Kiodo Kenku*. Vol. IV. No. 10.

the 10th to the 14th of the month carry them about the village. These lanterns are called "dashi." The four sides are covered with white paper, and on one side the words "Toshitoku On Kami" are written. Colored paper is fixed to the lantern for ornament, and *Shimenawa* is hung about it. A bamboo pole from twelve to eighteen feet long is passed horizontally through the lantern and the young men carry it by this pole, or the bamboo passes through vertically and the lantern is carried by one strong man while boys help to support it and pull it along by ropes tied to the top of the pole. On the afternoon of the 14th, they collect the *kadomatsu* and *shimenawa* from all the houses and place them in the village shrine. When it grows dark, they shout out "Toshitoku On Kami O Shimae!" "The end of the god of the year", and all the boys rush from their homes and spend the night in romping and frolicking. At daybreak on the 15th they take the *kadomatsu* and *shimenawa* from the shrine and carry them to a spot at some distance from the houses. Here they place the lantern and build a hut around it made of straw, bamboos, and New Year decorations. Then begins the shout "Moyasu! Moyasu!", "We'll burn it! We'll burn it!", and they set fire to it. As the flames reach their height, they shout and beat drums, and throw into the fire their first writings of the year. When the flames have died down, they toast *mochi* on the embers and eat it with the idea of thus dispelling all troubles for the year.¹

In the village of Gosen-machi, Echigo Province, each family builds and burns its own huts. The *Kadomatsu* are left in position before the front gate until the 14th, when they are taken down and replaced by *mayudama*, willow branches with balls of *mochi* fixed to the twigs. These are left in place until the 19th. On the 15th each house builds its hut of bamboo and straw, and puts the *kadomatsu* inside. They also make a wooden image about two feet in length, which they call "Sai no Kami",² and

¹ Fuzoku Gaho. No. 202. Meiji 33rd. (1900).

² The character used here for "Sai" is one meaning "calamity"

put it in the hut. About two o'clock in the afternoon they set the hut afire and burn it completely. They say that by so doing they sweep away all calamities which might attack them during the coming year.

In some of the larger towns the customs have changed to a great extent, and the huts, instead of being built in the fields, far from the dwellings, have been brought into the streets of the town. Mihara-machi in Bingo Province is one of these towns. Here each *cho*, or ward, sets up its own hut in the middle of the street, the materials being kept from year to year. At one corner of the hut an image made of straw is placed, and called "Daijingu", evidently a modern name and a mistaken one at that. The image holds a *gohei* in its hand. The festival is further elaborated by each ward making other images for exhibition. They represent characters of well-known plays, such as the Chushingura, the Night Attack of the Soga Brothers, etc the dresses being borrowed from wealthy people of the town. The fires, of which there are four for each ward, are built behind the huts. Four large bamboos are put up and masses of dried fern-leaves are bound to them in the form of a cone. The *shimenawa* which have been used on the houses are formed into many shapes and designs and fixed to the tops of the poles. Above these are fastened other bamboos with their leaves still on them to which are hung several hundred sheets of paper on which little boys have written their first writings of the year. On top of all is fastened a fan decorated with the red disc of the "Rising Sun". The towns-people get up at daybreak on the 14th to visit all the Sagicho possible and to admire the decorations. They give the young men presents of money and rice. The people from the neighboring villages too, men and women, old and young, come to town in great crowds. The fires are lighted on the 15th and burn entirely to ashes. The people say

or "disaster". This custom of burning a wooden image may be a relic of a time when human sacrifices were made in these fires. If so, it reminds one of the "Caillach Bealtine". See Balder the Beautiful. Vol I. p. 148.

this ceremony is an ancient one, and is held for the purpose of "sending away the first day of the year". It is the greatest festival of the year in this town.

Fukui, in Echizen Province, is another town in which the huts have been brought in from the fields and have more or less lost their old meaning. They are called "Taiko-goya" here, because a large drum is put in each hut and is beaten before and during the festival. The name of the festival in Fukui is simply "Hi-Matsuri", or "Fire Festival", and the fires are called "Sakitcho". An account in the magazine *Fuzoku Gaho* says, "A different house is appointed each year to make preparations for the Sakitcho. Men and women, old and young, meet at this house and take great pleasure in building the fires. The appointed family is also much pleased. Besides giving the people *sake* they treat them to many kinds of food. The fires are from seventeen to twenty feet in height, and large green *moso*-bamboos are used for the central poles. The bamboos are wrapped in straw and bundles of split wood are piled at their feet. The upper parts of the straw are stuck full of pine branches and at the top the "O Harai Fuda" of Ise Daijingu and *gohei* are tied with red and white cords (*mizuhiki*). "Rising Sun" fans are fastened to the ends of the branches and hang down all around. Schoolboys hang specimens of their hand-writing to the branches and little girls hang up triangular bags, like those formerly used to hold flint and steel, as specimens of their sewing. The "taiko-goya" is made of unvarnished wood in such a way that it can be taken to pieces and used year after year. It is placed at the side of the Sakitcho. When everything is ready, the sound of the drums rises over the noise made by the people, summoning them to come. At night the young men of each ward go to the huts in the other wards and beat the drums, singing songs called "daidzuri". One of the verses is, "O Matsu San and Gohei San, come again next year".¹ All sorts of musical

¹ The words "Miss Pine and Mr. Gohei," used as if they were the names of people, remind one of the cry of the dancers about the Twelfth Night fires in Franche-Comté, "Good year, come back! Bread and wine, come back!" See "The Scapegoat", p. 316.

instruments are played upon and the young men roam about the streets every evening until the seventh day of the month, when they set fire to the Sakitcho and so finish the festival. The man who sets the fire alight is one of the oldest men in the ward, and all the fires are lighted at the same time. If one toasts *mochi* at the fire and eats it, he will not catch cold or suffer from the heat of Summer for one year. When all is over, the hut is taken to pieces and stored with the drum in the house appointed for the next year."

In Akashi, a fishing-village on the shore of Harima no Kuni, the celebration of the "Tondo" on the fifteenth of the first month was at one time quite a noted event. There are several beaches in the vicinity and the fishermen of each beach formed a company and built their own fire. Fifty or sixty bamboos were set up in the usual conical form around a large central bamboo, and instead of *gohei*, figures of mackerel and other fish cut out of paper were tied to the ends. Fire was applied to the bottom of the pile. If the "tondo" in burning fell in the direction of the sea, it was considered that the catch of fish during the year would be a good one, and on this account the "tondo" was so constructed that it must fall towards the water. Before the Restoration, the *samurai* of the clan used to drive their horses round the fire while it was burning¹ and children threw their first writings of the year into it. If the flames carried the papers high in the air, it was thought a sign that their penmanship would improve. As each beach built its own fire and tried to make it the largest of all, the competition became quite fierce. Beginning on the third day of the first month, all the young men belonging to the various beaches gathered in companies and visited every house in the neighborhood, begging for *shimenawa* and other decora-

¹ This is the only mention I have found of the purification of domestic animals in these fire-festivals. The fact that cattle and horses were scarce in old Japan may be the reason for the omission of this magic rite. At any rate, it does not seem to have been extensively practiced. For the driving of cattle through the "need fires", see "Balder the Beautiful", pp. 270 sqq.

tions to add to their "tondo". If one party met another on the road, the stronger tried to rob the weaker of the "shimekazari" which they had collected, and frequent fights occurred. The formula of words used by the young men in their begging was as follows: *O shimenawa kudanse, kudanse, kudanse, kuri-kuri-kudanse, kudanse! Ichi rin ka, ni rin ka, san rin ka, yo rin ka! Shibu kusame horidase, yoi kaka uchi ye ire! Akamutsu ni tori ga naku, kokekokko!*¹ The decorations, when finally collected, were very carefully watched. Especially on the night of the 14th the people of each beach formed a company to sit up all night, guarding their collection, in the shed called the "kazarikura", or ornament-storehouse.

This begging-song of the young men of Akashi furnishes an instance of the allusion to birds at the time of these fires. Songs called "tori-oi uta", or "bird-driving songs", were sung at almost all these festivals, and in some places even the festival itself was called the "Tori-Oi". The songs mention various kinds of birds, but mostly small birds, such as the sparrow, that eat grain. Many of these and other songs at the Spring festivals contain phallic allusions, and are too gross, too intentionally gross, to quote here. In the villages of Azusa and Yamato, Azumi-gori, Shinano, the following song is sung:

Kyo wa dare no tori-oi zo?	Kyo wa dare no tori-oi zo?
Deiro don no tori-oi da.	Asanebo no tori-oi da.
Ore mo chitto otte yaro.	Karasu mo chitto otte yaro.
Pongara hoe hoe,	Pongara hoe hoe,
Pongara hoe hoe.	Pongara hoe hoe.
Kyo wa momi-tsutsuku tori oi zo.	Kyo wa dare no tori-oi zo?
Suzume makuri no tori-oi da.	Nihon no tori to Todo no tori to
Ore mo chitto otte yaro.	Wataranu saki ni.
Pongara hoe hoe,	Pongara hoe hoe,
Pongara hoe hoe.	Pongara hoe hoe.

¹ "O give us, give us, give us, decorative straw rope! One coil, two coils, three coils, or four coils! Throw out the stingy women and take home a good wife! At six in the morning the cock cries cock-a-doodle-doo!" The word *akamutsu* is also the name of a fish. Both fish and fowl are probably introduced as being phallic symbols.

What "Bird" shall we chase to-day?	What "bird" shall we chase to-day?
We'll chase Mr. Deiro.	We'll chase away Sleepy-head.
I too shall do a little "chasing".	Let's chase the crows a little too.
Pongara hoe hoe,	Pongara hoe hoe,
Pongara hoe hoe.	Pongara hoe hoe.
To-day we'll chase the birds that	What birds shall we chase to-day?
peck the rice.	Japanese birds, and Chinese birds
We'll chase away all the sparrows.	Before they have crossed over.
I too shall do a little "chasing".	Pongara hoe hoe,
Pongara hoe hoe,	Pongara hoe hoe.
Pongara hoe hoe.	

The first stanza shows the hatred of the farmers for the tax-gatherers; the word *tori* being a pun on "tori", a bird, and "Zei-tori", a tax-collector. The chorus of the song is an imitation of the sounds of the rattles used by children in driving the birds from the growing crops.

In Kami-Minauchi-gori, Shinano, on the fifteenth of the first month, children sing a song called "Tori-oi" while beating a battledore with a branch of the paper-mulberry.

Suzume Dono no tori-oi da.
 Tsubame Dono no tori-oi da.
 Futatsu ni saite, kiri-saite,
 Mitsu ni saite, miso tsukete.
 Yotsu ni saite, yu wo tsuide,
 Tori-kago ye sarai-konde,
 Sado-ga-shima ye horae.
 Sado-ga-shima ni seki ga nakya,
 Oni-ga-shima ye horae.

Mr. Sparrow is the bird to chase away.
 Mr. Swallow is the bird to chase away.
 Divide them in two, cut them in two,
 Divide them into three pieces, pickle them in bean-sauce,
 Divide them into four pieces, pour hot water on them.
 Shove them into a bird-cage, and
 Cast them on the Island of Sado.
 If there is no room on Sado Island,
 Throw them to Devil Island.

These two islands are well known as places of banishment for criminals in the old days.¹ Almost all the "bird-driving songs" all over the country, contain mentions of them.

There is another custom rather generally held in Japan, as it is in Europe in the Spring of the year. That is the threaten-

¹ If we consider these "bird-driving" songs as a magic rite used, not only to drive the birds from the crops in the coming Summer, but also to exorcise other evils, thus making scapegoats of the birds, the remarks of Prof. W. Robertson Smith in "The Religion of the Semites", p. 422, apply perfectly to them. "And here the carrying away of the people's guilt to an isolated and desert region has its nearest analogies, not in ordinary atoning sacrifices, but in those physical methods of getting rid of an infectious taboo which characterise the lowest forms of superstition. The same form of disinfection recurs in the Levitical legislation, where a living bird is made to fly away with the contagion of leprosy, and in Arabian custom, when a widow before remarriage makes a bird fly away with the uncleanness of her widowhood." And further, p. 447, in regard to the ceremonies for the removal of the impurities of widowhood "In the Arabian form the ritual is of purely savage type; the danger to life that made it unsafe for the man to marry the woman was transferred in the most materialistic way to an animal, or to a bird." It seems probable that these songs, if not the remains of an actual ancient ceremony for escaping the danger that every man was supposed to run when he married, are sung at least at present, with that purpose. This would explain why birds are to be killed or driven away on this occasion, although they are usually considered symbols of reproduction. If we take them in the latter sense, we have a curious analogy between ancient Japanese myth and that of the Hawaiian Islands. Aston's translation of the "Nihongi" says, p. 94, "Hiko-ho-ho-demi-no-mikoto as soon as he returned to his own country took cormorant's feathers, and with them as thatch, made a parturition house" for his wife, the daughter of the Sea God. And in the reign of Nintoku Tenno, when parturition houses were built for both the Empress and the wife of the Prime Minister, the entrance of birds into both houses, an owl in the house of the Empress and a wren in that of the Minister's wife, was considered a good omen. (p. 277) In a book of legends from the Hawaiian Islands there are at least three cases where houses specially built for the marriages of gods and goddesses are covered with birds' feathers, and one case where the house was built by birds. See "Legends of Gods and Ghosts", pp. 46, 123, 184. In regard to birds used in purification, see "The Scapegoat", p. 35. For another instance of birds used as symbols of fertility, in a mixture of tree and ancestor-worship, see "In the Shadow of the Bush" by P. Amaury Talbot, pp. 13 sqq.

ing, cutting, or beating of fruit-trees to make them bear a good crop of fruit. The custom as carried out in the two villages of Tarui and Shindachi, in the province of Izumi, is the best example that I have found. In this province, as in many others, the fifteenth day of the first month is called *Ko-Shogatsu*, or "Little New Year's Day", and on this day all the New Year decorations are gathered and brought to the village tutelary shrine. (*Uji-gami*). There they are burned, and *mochi* is toasted at the fire. The *mochi* is then put into rice-gruel cooked with the small red beans (*adzuki*) so much used for coloring "congratulatory rice", and part of the gruel is eaten, for the purpose, as the villagers say, of avoiding all disasters throughout the coming year. With this same object they take home and keep the ashes of the fire and the charred pieces of wood that are left. The ashes are scattered about outside the houses. On this morning men holding axes and women carrying bowls of the red rice-gruel go out (?) and stand under the fruit or nut-trees. The men lift their axes and cry in a loud voice, "*Narana kiro! Narana kiro!*!" (If you don't bear, I'll cut you down!) and the women respond with the shout, "*Narimasho! Narimasho!*!" (I'll bear!) The men lower their axes and the women pour a little of the gruel on the fork of the tree. This ceremony is called *Nari-Iwai*, "Ceremony for Blessing the Bearing", and is performed by a man and a woman at each tree.

In the neighborhood of Shizuoka, Suruga Province, this custom, a few years ago, was called *Dainoko*, and the men beat the fruit and nut-trees with a stick called *dainoko* (important child?). This stick was made of the wood of the "*Katsunoki*", a kind of oak, and was shaved so that the shavings hung from each end. The formula repeated as the men beat the trunks of the trees was, "*Dainoko shonoko narasu ka? Narō to möse! Natte, mo ochinna, moto kara ura made sen hyappyo.*" (Will you or will you not bear large and small fruit? Say you will bear! If you bear fruit, do not drop it, from bottom to top a hundred thousand bags full.)

In Koshi-gori and Uonuma-gori, Echigo Province, a farmer will choose the largest man from among his servants and call him the "Manriki-otoko". He is to perform a charm to make the fruit-trees bear plenty of fruit. He paints his face in dark blue stripes, ties a straw rope about his head, strips himself to the waist, and with a large wooden mall in his hand approaches the tree. He says, "*Kotoshi wa takusan naruka? Naranu to, uno!*" (Will you bear plenty of fruit this year? If you won't, I'll beat you!) and strikes the trunk of the tree with his mall. Another man, who has crouched beforehand at the base of the tree, says, "*Narimasu kara gomen, gomen!*" (I'll bear, so pardon, pardon!) Then the first man says, "*Samosozu! Samosozu! Dare to omou? Manriki-otoko da!*" (It should be so! It ought to be so! Who do you think I am? I'm the man with the power of ten thousand!) This is performed in the 14th of the first month.¹

Another custom carried out on this day in some parts of the country is a charm for driving moles away. In the country about the city of Fukuoka, Chikuzen Province, it is called *Mogura-Uchi*, "mole-beating". A boy or young man cuts down a growing bamboo and strips it of its leaves and branches for the greater part of its length, leaving some of them at the tip. The bunch of leaves that is left is wrapped in straw and small ropes are bound about it. Starting on the evening of the thirteenth, the sons of the family take turns in beating the ground around their house with this pole, keeping it up until daybreak on the fourteenth and shouting all the time the words, "*Ju-yo-ka no mogura-uchi, nogi-dare, kogi-dare, uchi-mawase*". (At the mole-beating on the 14th day, remove them, uproot

¹ This beating of the nut-trees reminds one of that old saying:

"A dog, a woman, and a walnut-tree,

The more you beat 'em the better they be."

For instances of threatening fruit-trees in Europe, though there it is generally done with fire, see "Balder the Beautiful", pp. 114, 215, 248, 280, 340, and "The Scapegoat", p. 317.

them, beat them around !) When they have finished the beating, they break the pole in pieces and hang it to the ridge-pole inside the house, like bunches of dried persimmons. They think that by doing this they insure a good crop of fruit on the fruit-trees.¹

In the province of Echigo this custom is performed in a different way and on a different day. On the morning of the second day of the year, at about two o'clock, while the rest of the family are doing their "First Work," boys of from eleven to sixteen years of age wrap their heads in cloths and put on straw shoes. They take a straw rope sixty feet long and either hold one end in their hand or tie it to their sash, while at the other end they fasten a straw shoe which they call *moguramochi*, or "mole". They drag this rope in every direction over their father's fields, shouting the words *Okura, okura, okura yo!* *Moguramochi okura yo!* *Dokomade okura yo!* *Sado-ga-shima made okura yo.* (Send away, send away, send away indeed ! Send away the moles ! Send them away as far as possible ! Send them to the island of Sado !) When each boy has finished with his own fields, all the boys gather together and drag the ropes about other people's fields, shouting the same words in chorus. When day breaks, they throw the ropes and shoes either into some man's farm or into a brook, and then all go to their homes. The ceremony is called *Moguramochi Okuri* and is very well-known in this district.²

¹ It will be noticed that the bamboo's tip is bound up in straw, as if it were to be made into a torch. Indeed there would seem to be no other reason for making it in this shape. In France, on the first Sunday in Lent, the "peasants in the department of Loiret used to run about the sowed fields with burning torches in their hands, while they adjured the field-mice to quit the wheat on pain of having their whiskers burned." Balder the Beautiful, vol 1, p. 114. "On the Eve of Twelfth Day in Normandy men, women, and children run wildly through the fields and orchards with lighted torches, which they wave about the branches and dash against the trunks of fruit-trees for the sake of burning the moss and driving away the moles and field-mice." Ibid. p. 340.

² Here the use of a shoe may have its *raison d'être* in the fact that shoes are symbols of travel. Note that returning travellers sometimes will

Returning to the subject of fires, in some of the villages of the north-eastern provinces no fires are burned on the 14th or 15th, but I quote from an article in the Anthropological Magazine to show the general character of the celebrations held on those days. The probable reason why no fires are kindled in these villages is that the people put up no outside New Year's decorations and so have nothing to burn. The reason the villagers give for having no *kadomatsu* is that in ancient days people who went into the mountains to cut pine-trees for the decorations were attacked by wild beasts and did not return. This happened so often that finally the custom of planting *kadomatsu* in front of their houses was given up. "In Sawadamura, Kamikita-gori, Rikuchu", says the Anthropological Magazine, "they make two oblong pieces of *mochi*, two or three inches long, and fasten them to the ends of bamboos. One is called "Ina-ho" and the other "Awa-ho" (ear of rice and ear of millet). They also make small dumplings and stick them on the twigs of either *sumomo* (*prunus triflora*), *mizuki* (dogwood), or *yamakawa* (wild mulberry). The twigs, together with the *ina-ho* and *awa-ho*, are tied up at one corner of the kitchen and left there until the morning of the seventeenth. If during the three days, the 15th, 16th and 17th, there is no storm, the year should be a good one for the crops. Then too", (and this shows the special character of the celebrations) "they make two pieces of *mochi* about eight inches square, one called "ushi-mochi" and the other "uma-mochi" (cattle-mochi and horse-mochi). These are tied to a post in one corner of the farm-yard with a rope generally used for tying packs on horses. The idea in tying them up in this way is to

hang a pair of straw sandals in a temple as thank-offerings; *jinrikisha*-pullers on recovering from some trouble that has kept them from running will offer sandals to a "Nio Sama". In this case the straw shoe may be thought to act as hint to the moles to start on their travels and go away. The writer in the *Fuzoku Gaho* whose account is translated here says nothing about the reason for the use of the shoe.

make a charm to prevent the horses and cattle from running away when let loose in the fields. Later on, the men eat the horse-mochi and the women eat the cattle-mochi. This is supposed to shorten the women's periods of pregnancy, the cow's period of gestation being nine months and a half and the mare's eleven months. If the women ate the horse-mochi, their periods of pregnancy would be lengthened."

In Izu Province, in the early part of the first month, boys gather together in groups at the sides of the roads and beg for money from the passers-by, giving as a reason the "Sai no Kami Festival". They even sometimes obstruct the roads, and are apt to cause considerable inconvenience to travellers who happen to have no small money with them. They usually have a small wooden shrine, painted red, which they draw about on a cart, collecting money from each house. They expect more from newly married people and from houses where a boy has been born than from other families. With the money they buy figures of "Daruma" and "Okame", fans, *gohei*, and other small articles, and fasten them to the branches of a tall bamboo. On the 14th they gather the *kadomatsu* from all the houses in the village and pile them around the bamboo, setting fire to them in the evening. In Izu Sae no Kami and Dosojin are considered to be the same gods, and their shrines are built at almost every cross-road in the townships. This is an instance of the confusion of the original demons of disease, the Sae no kami, with Dosojin, which is the popular name of Saruta-hiko-no-mikoto, the principal phallic deity. W. G. Aston, in his book "Shinto, The Way of the Gods" does not state that the Sae no Kami and Saruta-hiko are confused in the minds of the people, but he does give a reason for the possibility of the confusion. He says, "The circumstance that the Sae no Kami were worshipped by the roadside and at crossways led to their being looked upon as guide-gods and special friends of travellers". The reason for their being worshipped at roadsides and cross-ways may have been that, as diseases spread from village to

village, these demons were supposed to bring them along the roads, and therefore the roads were the natural places for their worship and propitiation. Having thus become road-gods their connection and subsequent confusion with Saruta-hiko, who guided the Heavenly Grandchild on his journey to the earth, were easy and perhaps natural steps. The characters with which the names of the Sae no Kami and Dosojin are now written are the same, meaning "Road-Ancestor-Gods".

One more instance of the celebration of these rites, to show how entirely phallic they became in some places, and I have done with the Spring fires. In Iseji-mura, Isshi-gori, Ise no Kuni, on the seventh day of the first month, the people of each ward of the village build a hut which they call a "Tondo". As each ward takes pride in the size of their Tondo, they make it as large as possible, so as to out-do the other wards. It is built of bamboos, the butts of which are thrust into the ground and the tips tied together above. It is large enough to let twenty or thirty people enter at one time. When it is finished, the young men go about the village begging for *mochi*, which they call "Tondo-mochi". This has been prepared since the first of the year. Each family in the village is obliged to give some. At night, men and women gather in the Tondo and toast the *mochi* over the fire built in the center of the hut. Formerly, married people used to take their children there and were glad to warm themselves at this fire, but now the custom is monopolized by the young people. They talk and sing and frolic together and finally sleep. At daybreak, they set fire to one corner of the Tondo while the whole crowd clap their hands and shout aloud. They all wait till the fire has entirely died down. A strict watch has been kept on the Tondo all night, for people from one ward are allowed to set fire to the hut of another ward, if they can do it secretly.¹

The Spring fires have retained their Shinto character almost

¹ Fuzoku Gaho, No. 227, Meiji 34.

entirely; but the Autumn fires have been largely influenced by Buddhist ideas. This may possibly be accounted for by the fact that while there is no important Buddhist festival in the first month, the great festival of the "Urabon", or "Feast of the Dead", takes place during the seventh month, the month in which the Autumn fires are lighted. But influenced as they have been, taken over bodily by the Buddhists in some places as they have been, in many parts of the country these Autumn fires have distinguishing details totally unconnected with Buddhism. It is these latter fires, apparently more ancient than the fires and lanterns of the "Bonmatsuri", which I shall try to describe.

The Autumn fires were always kindled during the seventh month, but there was no one day of this month generally fixed upon for the festival. In some places it was held as early as the fourth day and in others the day set apart was as late as the twenty-fourth. Most places held the festival on days about midway between these dates. In some villages the fires were built on the ground and in others they were raised on the tops of tree-trunks specially cut for the purpose. The fires on the ground were usually built in pairs, while those raised on the ends of so-called "pillars" (*hashira*) were single fires. Both kinds were used, in part at least, for the purpose of foretelling the luck of the crops, but the people who lighted the pillar-fires, the *hashira-matsu* as they were called, said that they did so as a charm to protect their cattle from disease. In both forms of the ceremony there were many phallic elements, and tho' in none of the accounts of these ceremonies can the name of any particular god to whom they were addressed be found, it seems probable that they kindled first to repel the Sae no Kami in their characters as demons of disease, and later to honor them as simple phallic gods. From this point of view the Autumn fire-festivals, the *hashira-matsuri* as both forms were called, are closely connected with the Spring "Tondo" or "Sagicho" and indeed Mr. Oshiba, whose opinions I have quoted before, points out this connection.

It should be noted as a possible point in favor of the purificatory theory that the seventh month is especially distinguished as one of the two months in which purificatory ceremonies are held. In this month almost all the public rites performed, leaving out for the moment the fire-festivals, are of a purificatory nature. Many examples of this fact could be given, but to take one most important and one of least significance, there is the *O Harai* of Ise on the one hand and the *Funa Matsuri*¹ of Honmoku, near Yokohama, on the other. Both of these ceremonies are held in the seventh month. The one is of national importance as being a great function of the principal Shinto shrine, while the other is the strictly local affair of a small village, but both of them, together with many others show that the seventh month is particularly the month for purification.

The festival celebrated in the village of Yoshizaki, Sakai-gori, Echizen, furnishes a typical example of fires built on the ground. Two heaps of wood are carefully constructed in the form of pillars, about ten feet in height and of the same diameter at the bottom but tapering gradually toward the top. An opening is left at the bottom at which to start the fire. Two young

¹ In the *Honmoku no Funa-Matsuri*, or Boat Festival of Honmoku, several large boats assemble from the different wards of the village. They bring in them a number of little boys, all gaily dressed. On arriving at the meeting-place, the boys come ashore and the boats are filled with thirty or forty young men in each boat. Each boat receives an image made of green rice-straw, carefully made in a form that looks like a dragon, but which is called a "horse." After waving of *gohei* over the boat-crews, the boats are sculled slowly out to sea for a few hundred yards. Then each holder of the straw images throws his image into the water, whereupon the boats are turned toward the shore and sculled back as rapidly as possible, all the young men pushing and pulling at the sculls and shouting together in chorus. The men of Honmoku being mostly fishermen say this ceremony is performed for the purpose of getting good catches of fish, but since the images are called "horses" and are thought to bring disease to any one who touches them, it seems certain that the idea is to get rid of all disease, especially that of their horses and domestic cattle.

men are chosen, one from each of two villages or parts of the same village, and take their stand, with torches in their hands, at equal distances from the piles of wood. At a given word, they run to the piles and each sets his pillar afire with his torch. The flames creep up the interior of the structures, and he whose pillar is the first to show flames at its top is the winner of the contest. Those farmers whose land is nearest to the land of the winner will have the best crops of rice. This ceremony is held near the shrine of the village god (*ujii-gami*), but as almost every village in this province has a different *ujii-gami*, the fires have no connection with any particular god. The night of this festival is one of the nights of the year when laxity of morals between the young unmarried people is allowed without much protest.

In the province of Sanuki, Shikoku, there used to be a ceremony held on the sixteenth day of the seventh month which the people called *Hi-Age*, or "the fire-raising". The trunk of a pine-tree thirty-six feet long and four or five feet in circumference was raised, probably on a mound of earth. On the top of this so-called "pillar" they fixed a receptacle made of one hundred and twenty green bamboos and over a hundred pounds of straw rope, and filled the receptacle with sixty bundles of barley-straw. They set the straw on fire by throwing into it torches made by tying wads of tow to the ends of short pieces of bamboo about a foot long. The torches were thrown by young men who stripped naked for the ceremony. The book in which this festival is described, a book over a hundred years old, named "A Description of Western Sanuki", does not give the reason for the festival, but judging from all the other fire-festivals of this province held in this month, we may suppose it was held with the idea of averting evil from the cattle and crops.¹

¹ In this respect the festivals resemble the fire-festivals which were held in India in the eighteenth century, in honour of the god Darma Rajah and his wife Drobede (Draupadi). "The rite was performed in honor of the goddess Drobede (Draupadi), the heroine of the great Indian epic, the *Mahabarata*. For she married five brothers all at once; every year she

In Iwojima, an island off the mouth of Nagasaki Bay, on the night of the fifteenth of the seventh month, the islanders make one large and one small fire on the beach. The diameter of the larger fire is about six feet, and that of the smaller two feet. Both piles of wood taper toward the top, resembling in this respect the fires of the Tondo. The smaller fire is built and offered to the gods by children. Both fires are lighted by torches which are thrown at the piles of wood. On the same night what is called a "Bon-Odori" is danced.²

The shrine at this place is dedicated to O Inari Daimyojin, the god who protects the rice, but popular tradition says it is the shrine of the priest Shunkan, who is said to have returned to this island from his banishment in Shikoku. The fact would seem to be that the fires here are lighted with two intentions; both to drive away evils from the growing rice, thus propitiating the Rice God, and to honor Shunkan as a representative of the phallic gods, his phallic tendencies being a wide-spread popular tradition.

In the province of Nagato the fire-festivals are held on different days between the seventh and the twentieth of the month by the various villages. The reason generally given for

left one of her husbands to betake herself to another, but before doing so she had to purify herself by fire.....The celebration of the rite in any village is believed to protect the cattle and the crops and to guard the inhabitants from dangers of all kinds." Balder the Beautiful, vol. II, p. 7. Compare also the vernal fire-festival of the Chinese province of Fo-Kien, (Ibid. p. 3 sq.) and the driving of cattle thro the "need-fires" of Europe. (Ibid. p. 270 sqq).

² This is the only instance I have found where a regularly arranged dance is performed at the fire-festivals. The so-called "Bon-odori" are at present part and parcel of the Buddhist "Urabon", or Festival of the Dead, but they are supposed to have their origin in the "Uta-gaki" of ancient Japan. These were gatherings of men and women, principally on the banks of some stream, where a dance was performed by two lines of people facing each other while songs were sung; hence the name of the festival, *Uta-gaki*, "Song-fence". Intimacy was promiscuous at these gatherings, which were held in Spring and Autumn. See "Nihon Fuzoku Shi", by Kato Totsudo. (1917).

the fires is that they are intended to welcome the spirits of the dead, showing that the Buddhists have taken them for their own, but near Shimonoseki the idea is said to be to prevent disease among cattle. All over this province the people raise upright the trunks of pine-trees from eighteen to thirty feet in height and fix to the tops bamboo baskets filled with straw. In some places a number of small bamboos with their leaves are fastened in the straw, the center bamboo being decorated with tassels to which are tied *gohei* and small flags of the five colors (red, yellow, green (or blue), black, and white). Boys of from ten to fifteen years of age set the basket of straw alight by throwing into it torches made of bamboo and straw. To keep the basket in place three ropes are led from it down to the ground, and these ropes also are decorated with flags of the five colors. In one village of this province the festival lasts from the seventh to the fourteenth. Here the young men raise a large bamboo pole with a basket made of straw on the top, and set the straw afire by throwing torches into it. They consider the ceremony a kind of sport, but they also say that if they do not perform it, their cattle will die. They believe too that if any man does not contribute straw for the ceremony, his cattle will die; so there is no lack of straw during the festival. They call the ceremony "Bull-Light" (*Ushi no Tomoshibi*).

In Kai Province the fires are lighted at the tops of bamboo poles, and the purpose, as given by the villagers, is to entertain the spirits of the dead.

In Tamba the ceremony used to be held on the fourteenth day of the month, and was called the "Atago Fire Festival". The height of the pillars is said to have been ninety feet, but here we must allow for the excitement of some old man as he described the festival. On the top of the pillars an umbrella-shaped decoration was fastened, made of hemp-stems, with ropes leading to the ground. When the umbrella was burned and the pillar fell to earth, they foretold the quantity and quality of the crops by the direction in which it fell.

In the province of Kii, the ceremony is usually performed by fishermen. They throw the torches at the bonfire by turning their backs to it, leaning forward, and casting them up from between their legs. He who first succeeds in setting the straw alight will have the best catches of fish during the year.

At Togakushi-yama, Shinano Province, the ceremony has become somewhat mixed with Buddhist observances. Here, on the seventh day of the seventh month, three pillars are raised, each pillar representing a different god. A bundle of dead branches is fixed to each pillar, and the people foretell the state of the year's crops by seeing which pillar takes fire first. We are not told what gods are represented at this festival. At Myoko-zan, a Ryobu-Shinto temple in the same province, the festival is held on the seventeenth. Two pillars are erected, one to the right and the other to the left of the shrine's enclosure. Two men dressed as *yamabushi* are led forward by several other men. They each carry flint and steel. When they reach the sacred bridge in front of the shrine the men holding them let them go, and they at once begin to dance toward the pillars and try to set them alight by striking fire at them. He who first succeeds is the winner of the contest. The reason for this contest is unknown to most of the villagers, but some of them say that if it were not held, their houses would be destroyed in a conflagration.

In the Province of Harima the custom is called *Hi-age*, or "Fire-raising". They plant pine-trees stripped of their branches in the ground and on their tops fix conical receptacles made of poles and rope. The receptacles are filled with straw, and this is set afire by torches which are thrown into them. The torches are made by tying a stone to one end of a short piece of straw rope, and lighting the other end. When the straw at the top of the pillars has taken fire, they pull the whole pillar down, and judge the future state of the crops by the direction in which it falls. The height of these pillars is about thirty feet. The

fire for lighting the torches is obtained from the village shrine.¹

An account of Shinto fire-festivals should not be ended without a mention of two celebrations which, though held at different times of the year from both the Tondo and the Hashira Matsuri, resemble the latter in that the reasons for their being held are to drive away evil spirits and to foretell the state of the crops. The first of these festivals is held at the tutelary shrine of part of Toba, a village in Mikawa no Kuni and not far from Nara. The shrine is said to have been founded before the year 923, but the manner of its "Hi-Matsuri" has been followed by no other shrine in the country. There is a river flowing through the village which divides the land into two parts. The part to the East of the river is called "Kanchi", or Cold Ground, and that to the West "Fukuchi" or Lucky Ground. The men of each part each year choose one of their number to keep a vigil in the temple on the night of the 13th of the last month of the year. These two men are called *Yusuri-Bo*, or "Brandished Stick", and their food must be cooked over a specially made fire. If the company of "Kanchi" wins the contest, as will be seen later on, the crops in the hilly parts of the village will be the better, while if the men of "Fukuchi" are victorious, the crops from the flat ground will be superior. Formerly the *Yusuri-Bo* were always men of twenty-four years of age, because they wished to escape the dangers of their twenty-fifth year, a

¹ In some parts of France the torches, instead of setting the bonfires alight, take their fire from them, and are then used for fructifying the fruit-trees, etc. In Auvergne these torches are called *grannas-mias* and the invocation sung at the ceremony is addressed to "Granno", who may possibly be the ancient Celtic god Grannus. Prof. Fraser says this god "was identified with Apollo and may well have been a sun-god" (See "Balder the Beautiful", vol. I, p. 113), but as W. Mannhardt "thought the torches in the modern European customs are imitations of lightning", it is also possible that Grannus was a god of lightning. This theory would form a parallel between the torches of the Celtic fires and those of the Japanese fires and would reinforce Mr. Origuchi's theory that the raised poles and tree-trunks had to do with the lightning.

year supposed to be unlucky for men, but of late, men twenty years old have also been selected, in order that they may successfully complete their training as soldiers, a duty which begins with their twenty-first year. From the first to the third days of the year the two men stay in the shrine by turns, spending their time there in taking cold baths and in otherwise purifying themselves. On the 14th they go to a grove or forest belonging to some one of the townspeople and cut down two trees for the central poles of the fires, preparing bamboos, wisteria vines, and the branches and sticks called *yusuribo* and *haraibo*, for use in the ceremony. The owner of the chosen forest in which these things are made ready considers it a personal honor to himself. On the same day all the men of the town go out to cut and prepare quantities of *kaya*, a kind of reed, of which to make the bonfires. It is brought to the shrine, and dried in the air on the next day. The men spend the 6th day in building the bonfires or *taimatsu*. The dried reeds are divided into two heaps; one for the company of the "Kanchi" and the other for that of the "Fukuchi", and the two companies together bind the reeds about the central poles, using the wisteria vines and split bamboos to fasten them. Around the outside of the conical masses of reeds are fixed three hoops of bamboo at equal distances from each other. When the bonfires are ready, they decide by lot which shall belong to which company, and then each company takes its *taimatsu* to its appointed spot, and digging a hole three feet deep in the ground, fixes upright the central pole with its attached reeds. The fire raised on the left of the shrine belongs to the "Kanchi" and the one on the right to the "Fukuchi". On the 7th, the day of the festival, at about five o'clock in the afternoon, the two *yusuribo* strip naked, and with *gohei* in their hands, go to the beach and take a ceremonial bath called *agegori* (frozen offering?). Each man has a helper who carries the *gohei* on the way back because the bathers are too cold to do so. Many men volunteer for this duty; some of them *yusuribo* of previous years and some the relatives of the present *yusuribo*. The

principal ceremony is held at about eight o'clock the same evening. All the people gather in the hall of the shrine while the priest reads a congratulatory address, and then, at an order from him, take their seats in two companies in the enclosure in front of the shrine. Two processions are formed, side by side, each headed by a representative of his company bearing a lantern on a bamboo pole. Next come two Shinto priests, each carrying flint and steel on a wooden stand, with the two *yusuribo* to the right and left. Following them come the two divisions of parishioners, each man dressed in a coat of single thickness, new head-cloth, arm-covers, and leggings. All these are made of white cotton cloth. Then follow two assistants to the *yusuribo*, dressed like them, but with clothes made in the preceding year. Next come two companies of twelve men each, or in Leap-Year thirteen, all carrying sticks called *haraibo* (purification sticks). The procession is ended with two divisions of over ten men each, called *Tegawari*, or "substitutes". It marches to the "Place of Sacred Fire" before the two bonfires, and the priests, after reading another address, make fire with flint and steel. Each priest in front of a bonfire sets some straw alight and with the straw sets fire to the straw-wrapped *yusuribo*, the stick borne by the man of the same name. He then uses the flaming *yusuribo* to set the bonfire alight at the top. As the ropes holding the reeds in place burn, the reeds fall to the ground, but their flames are carefully extinguished by the men with the *haraibo*, lest the bottom of the pile catch fire. Meanwhile the "substitutes" scatter water over the crowd of people from buckets placed in readiness beforehand, and drums are beaten on a platform prepared for them. When the fire has burned down to the first bamboo hoop, the two *yusuribo* thrust their sticks deep into the mass of reeds, probably to loosen the hoops, and the helpers assist them. At this the drummers cease beating. This is done again when the fire has reached the second hoop. The state of the weather when the different kinds of rice will be in blossom is foretold by the strength or weakness of the flames

between the hoops. The space between the second hoops represents the time between the 210th and 220ths days; that between the second and third, the time between the 220th and 230th days, reckoning from the first day of "Spring". If the fire burns well the weather will be dry; if poorly, there will be rain. The drums are stopped again when the fire reaches the second hoop, and the *yusuribo* again insert the sticks in the fire. As soon as this is done at the third hoop, all the men of both parties rush to the fires and try to take out the central poles as quickly as possible. Meanwhile they are all drenched with the water scattered by the "substitutes". When the poles have been extracted from the ground, they are bound about their bases with twelve wrappings of straw rope and then carried in front of the main shrine. The party which succeeds in getting its pole in front of the shrine first will have the better crops during the year. This is thought to be the decision of the god.

The second of these special fire-festivals is held at the Shinto shrine called Gwassai Jinja, near Tamuke-machi, Dewa Province. Like the festival at Toba its avowed purpose is to foretell the fortunes of the coming year, but unlike other fire-festivals of the same kind it is held during the last days of the year. Two men are selected from among the *yamabushi* of the place and appointed "Matsu-Hijiri", or "Pine-tree Saints". One of them is called "Ijo" and the other "Sendo", though the meaning of these names has been forgotten. Beginning on the twentieth day of the ninth month, they purify themselves for about a hundred days by fasting, cold baths, and prayers. All the young men of the village are divided into two groups, and one group is attached to each "Saint" for the purpose of holding a contest. They pass the night of the 27th day of the last month of the year in the public prayer-hall of the shrine, making two "torches", or bonfires, of pieces of wood tied together with straw rope. One of the torches is larger than the other. At daybreak on the twenty-eighth, after many prayers and incantations have been said, they drag the "torches" into the shrine's enclosure, and

the two parties of young men, each headed by its "Saint", throw hand-torches at them until they are set afire. If the Ijo's party is the first to set its bonfire alight, the crops will be more abundant than the catches of fish, while if the Sendo's party wins, the catch of fish will exceed the amount of the crops. The original purpose of these fires, it is said, was to drive away harmful insects and pestilence. This is shown by the name given to the larger of the two fires, namely, "Tsutsuga", or Evil. After the first ceremony preparations are made for a second, and the fires are rebuilt. On the morning of the last day of the year, the people of the village come in crowds to the shrine, and cutting into pieces the large rope around which the wood is bound, take the pieces home with them as charms against a conflagration. In the evening the fires are built for a third time and at once burnt. The fire for this second burning was formerly obtained by striking flint with steel or by rubbing together two pieces of *hinoki* wood, but of later years the customs have so changed that at present they get the fire by exploding gunpowder. The second ceremony, however, is still called *Hi no Uchi-kae Shiki*, or "Ceremony for the Renewal of Fire by Striking", referring to the old-fashioned flint and steel.

Both of these festivals, the one at Toba and this at Tamukemachi, seem too elaborate in the fashion of their celebrations to be very old. They seem rather to be comparatively modern attempts at reformation, with the purpose of keeping up the old idea of purification, but of doing away with the phallic characteristics of the worship. I am told, however, that at both places licence and laxity of morals continue to some extent during these festivals.

In the province of Kazusa, particularly in the village of Goi, Ichihara-gu, but also in several other villages, there was held, before the Meiji era, a festival which resembled the "Pine-Pillar Festivals", though no fire was lighted. Two large pillars, over thirty feet in height, were erected in the road-way, and at the tops, balls of hemp tow, eight feet in circumference, were fixed.

Two hempen ropes depended from the tops of the pillars, and while some men held the ends taut, others dressed in green robes and with masks representing the "rain-producing dragon" climbed up hand over hand. On reaching the top they performed what was called a dance, but was probably a series of postures like those of the firemen on their ladders in Tokyo and Yokohama, and then scattered on the heads of the crowd the five-colored *nusa* which had been stuck in the balls of hemp. This ceremony is supposed to have been practiced in order to produce rain, since old people who had formerly taken part in it have said that the "dancers" on the tops of the pillars imitated the actions of tree-frogs, an animal which cries, the Japanese say, only when it is about to rain. If this is one of the possible explanations of the "Pine-Pillar Festivals", it shows their connection with the thunder-storm; and that brings me back to speak of the reason for the use of poles and tree-trunks in these Autumn fires and also of the bamboo about which the Spring fires were built.

Mr. Origuchi Shinobu, in his series of learned articles on the "Higeko", in the magazine *Kiodo Kenku*,¹ considers these poles, bamboos, and tree-trunks to be "*yorishiro*", or objects placed with the idea of insuring the presence of a god. Starting with the ancient belief that when a god came down to earth, he descended in a flash of lightning, Mr. Origuchi says that if the god, on so reaching earth, occupies any place that pleases him, it will evidently make trouble for human beings, because they may happen to be intruding upon that place and in that case the god will punish them. For this reason the people of the olden time chose a special place, which they called "*shime-yama*", or "designated mountain" on which the god could descend harmlessly. All gods are not satisfied with these special spots; sometimes they come down outside of them; but that is another story. It was necessary to notify the gods about the locations of these *shime-yama*, and as there were no flags

¹ See Vol III, No's 2 and 3, and Vol IV, No. 9.

or sign-boards in those days, the people chose a single tall tree on the top of the mountain and tried to confine the gods' descent to that place. In other words, the *shimeyama* was a sort of divine lightning-rod. From the standpoint of the gods, these places were *yorishiro*, or "means of approach"; and from the human point of view they were *ogishiro*, or "means of confining". In places where there were no trees, a pole or tree-trunk was erected, marked with *gohei* and having a "higeko" at its top. This *higeko*,¹ by the way, was the original form of the balls and baskets now placed at the tip of flagstaffs and the poles from which the paper carp are flown. The idea that the lightning itself, or rather the thunder was in charge of a single god, named Kaminari Sama, was a later innovation. These are Mr. Origuchi's ideas, and they strike me as very reasonable. I hope my translation has not made them seem too flippant. At any rate they show a possible connection between the Autumn fire and the God of Thunder. One would naturally expect some such connection from the fact that the seventh month, during which these festivals were held, is a month in which thunder-storms are frequent and is also one of the most important times of the year for the farmer, the rice-plants flowering and insects being most numerous. The usual word for lightning is *inabikari*, rice-plant shining or radiance, but other names are *inazuma*, husband of the rice-plant, and *inatsurubi*, fire that fructifies the rice-plant, thus suggesting the

¹ *Higeko*, a globular basket with a fringe of the material left about the mouth, the whole representing the sun with its rays. Literally, "bearded basket".

² There is a curious resemblance, not only in name but in use and shape, between the Japanese *hashira* of the Autumn fires and the *ashera* of the ancient Semites. Both were pillars used in religious rites, both had receptacles at their tops, and fire was burned in both receptacles. See "Lectures on the Religion of the Semites": W. Robertson Smith: pp. 187, 191, and 438. In regard to the religious connection between trees and lightning see p. 193: also "Balder the Beautiful", pp. 231, 295 sqq.

phallic characteristics of the fire-festivals. There is a love-song in the *Kokinshu* which runs :

Aki no ta no
Ho no ue wo terasu
Inazuma no
Hikari no ma ni mo
Ware ya wasururu.

(I shall never forget you for a moment ; even for so short a time as the flash of lightning that shines on the rice-ears in the Autumn fields.)

But the word *inazuma* does not mean the direct thunder-bolt ; rather it refers to what we call heat-lightning or summer-lightning, flashes produced at a distance, beyond the horizon, and so, if the fires were connected with the lightning at all, they were built with the purpose of driving thunder-storms away until the lightning shone upon the rice-fields only from a distance. From this point of view again the fires seem to have been purificatory.

How close a parallel might be drawn between these Autumn fires and the ritual of the worship of Diana in the grove of Nemi ! Just as the Japanese *hashira-matsu* were raised and burned for the protection of cattle, so was the goddess the protectress of cattle ; just as Diana was the giver of children to men and women, so were the Autumn fires part of a rite performed for the reproduction of mankind ; and just as these pillar-fires were lighted by torches, so were torches a principal part of Diana's ritual. "Of the worship of Diana at Nemi some leading features can still be made out. From the votive offerings which have been found on the site, it appears that she was conceived of especially as a huntress, and further as blessing men and women with offspring, and granting expectant mothers an easy delivery. Again, fire seems to have played a foremost part in her ritual. For during her annual festival, held on the thirteenth of August, at the hottest time of the year, her grove shone with a multitude of torches, whose ruddy glare was reflected by the lake ; and throughout the length and breadth of Italy the day was kept

with holy rites at every domestic hearth. Bronze statuettes found in her precinct represent the goddess herself holding a torch in her raised right hand ; and women whose prayers had been heard by her came with wreaths and bearing lighted torches to the sanctuary in fulfilment of their vows¹¹.

Now from the evidence which I have been able to collect, I conclude that both these fires, Spring and Autumn, have for their principal purpose the idea of reproduction. The Spring fires seem to have been built and lighted as part of a ceremony for the propitiation of a god who aids the production of children, and the Autumn fires for the purpose of producing good crops of grain and prolonging the lives of the farmers' cattle. The Spring fires were generally kindled on the night before the festival of the Sae no Kami ; this is in accordance with the usual custom in Shinto ceremonial. In early times the use of a temple or shrine as a permanent dwelling-place for a god was not usual ; the holy place to which the god was asked to descend was simply an enclosure of ground ; and when a temple for his reception was built at all, it was used for only a single ceremony ; when the ceremony was finished, the temple was done away with, either by throwing it into running water, or, as in this case, by burning it. The huts used at the time of the Spring fires were built for the purpose of celebrating the rites of the Sae no Kami, and according to rule were burned when the rites were finished. While they do not seem to have been a principal or even an essential part of every celebration, they were certainly an important part of many, though the only thing common to all the fires, used in every fire, was the central bamboo or tree-trunk.

And I am inclined to think that the tree-trunk, the "pine-tree pillar", was the essential part of the Autumn fires too ; that the fires built of branches or of split wood were a later form of the celebration. The importance of the "pillar fires" as distinguished

from the fires on the ground is shown by the fact that there are many villages and parts of villages which still retain the name of "Hashira-matsu". These were places in which the Autumn fire-festivals were celebrated. Mr. Oshiba says there are five such places in Izumo, two in both Tosa and Izumi, and one in each of the Provinces of Ise, Shimosa, Shimotsuke, Tango, Tajima, Bitchu, and Chikuzen. The name "Hashira-matsu" has clung to them in the same way that the word "Bonten" has clung to many of the places where Spring fires were celebrated.

It would be hard to say that these Spring and Autumn fire-festivals were phallic celebrations originally, but they surely seem to have become phallic before the times in which we have any written account of them, and if this is the case, it follows, since worship of the principle of reproduction if not of the actual phallus was an integral part of Shinto, that the fires are as much a part of Shinto ceremonial as any other well-known rite of that religion. Now one of the fundamental and essential tenets of Shinto is ritual purity. Aston says "Ritual purity is of the very essence of Shinto". It is well known with what exact care every ritual act of its worshippers is preceded, carried on, and succeeded by the most scrupulous endeavors after purification. The practice is sometimes even carried to such an extent as almost to obscure the actual worship of the deities. This being the case, I think we may conclude that these Spring and Autumn fires of the first and seventh months have more to do with purification, with the expelling of evil vapors, diseases, and witchcraft, than with any idea of worshipping the sun or of aiding him in his dying condition. This latter thought may at some distant time have entered the heads of the fire-builders, but if so, it was, apparently, only a subsidiary thought, and as far as I can see, the Spring and Autumn fires seem to have been fundamentally purificatory.

YEDO AND TOKYO.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M.A.

During the spring of this year (1917), an exhibition was held at Uyeno in Tokyo in celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the establishment of the capital of the new government at Yedo and the accompanying change of its name to "Tokyo" ("Eastern Capital"). As a matter of fact, it is not full fifty years, by the Western method of counting, since that event; it is fifty years only by the Japanese inclusive method of counting, for it was not till 1868 in the 7th month (o. c.), which ran from August 18 to September 15, that the name was actually changed; and it was not till the 10th month (o.c.), which ran from November 14 to December 13, that the new young Emperor actually entered his new capital. The exact date of the latter event is November 26, 1868.¹

"Yedo" and "Tokyo" are two names of one and the same place and yet quite different places. Yedo is the old name, and Tokyo is the new name, of the same general locality, the same geographical entity. It was a change from "Bay Door" to "Eastern Capital." And, while the mere change of name need not mean much in itself (for "what's in a name?"), yet the transformations that accompanied the change of name signified much in the national development.

Now, it so happened that, about fifty years ago (say in the period from the latter part of 1866 to the early part of 1869), there were several, especially four, changes that profoundly affected the future of Japan. Let us, therefore, indulge in "looking backward" fifty years or so, to note what happened then of an epoch-making character.

¹ See Note V at the end.

I. CHANGE OF SHOGUN.

In the first place, the Shogun Iyemochi died in 1866 and was succeeded by Keiki, a Mito man, who had been adopted into the Hitotsubashi family. The deceased Shogun was a young man of 21 years of age ; he had been appointed to that important office in 1858, when he was only 12 years old. That appointment had been forced by the powerful Lord Ii Kamon no Kami, the Prime Minister of the Shogun, in order to consolidate his own power in the administration by setting up a mere boy as Shogun. At the time, there had been a demand for an able man like Keiki to be appointed to the position. In Henry Satoh's "Life of Hotta, the Pioneer Diplomat of Japan", it is intimated that the center of the opposition to Keiki was among the ladies of the Shogun's court. It is said that they objected to the Mito influence on account of its simplicity, frugality and economy. Thus Ii succeeded in checking the influence of the Mito family : but, two years later (on March 24, 1860), he was assassinated by Mito *ronin*, who wreaked full revenge for all the insults which the "swaggering minister", as he was called by his enemies, had heaped upon the Mito house. It is doubtless true, as Gubbins suggests in "The Progress of Japan", that, if Keiki had been appointed Shogun in 1858, "the course of events would probably have been very different."

The young boy Shogun was, of course, a mere figure-head and was largely under petticoat influence. He was not strong physically and was plunged into the vortex of civil dissensions. At one time, he petitioned, but in vain, to be allowed to retire in favor of Keiki, who had been his guardian in his earlier years. But this youthful Shogun enjoyed one distinction, in the fact that, in 1863, "in compliance with the Imperial summons, [he] went to Kyoto, which had not seen a Shogun for two hundred and fifty years." The lack of success of his army in the campaign against Choshu in 1866 hastened his death, caused physically by a combination of diseases, of which one was the awful *kakke*

(beri-beri) which is so common in Japan. He died on August 28, 1866; but the fact was not gazetted at once; and his successor was not formally appointed until early in 1869.

The new Shogun was the above-mentioned Keiki, who now assumed the reins with much energy. But he realized that the civil strife in Japan was due to the fact that the administration proceeded from two centers, and thus the national power and influence were divided. He was ready, therefore, to listen to the advice of several prominent feudal lords and, in November, 1867, resigned his position and restored the administrative power to the Emperor.

The letter addressed to Keiki by the Prince of Tosa (whose given name was Yodo, as will appear in the letter) is worth reproducing in full, as follows:¹

"It appears to me, that although the government and the penal laws have been administered by the Military Class ever since the Middle Ages, yet, from the arrival of foreigners, we have been squabbling amongst ourselves, and much public discussion has been excited. The east and west have risen in arms against each other, and civil war has never ceased, the effect being to draw on us the insult of foreign nations. The cause of this lies in the fact that the administration proceeds from two centers, causing the Empire's ears and eyes to be turned in two different directions. The march of events has brought about a revolution, and the old system can no longer be obstinately persevered in. You should restore the governing power into the hands of the sovereign and so lay a foundation on which Japan may take its stand as the equal of all other countries. This is the most imperative duty of the present moment, and is the heartfelt prayer of Yodo. Your Highness is wise enough to take this advice into consideration".

How that advice was received is clear enough from the

¹ From Satow's translation of "Kinse Shiraku."

following document,¹ said to have been drawn up for communication to his vassals :

“ When I contemplate the changes which have come about in the political condition of the Empire, it appears to me, that, when the Imperial authority decayed many centuries back, the power was seized by the Fujiwara family. During the wars of Hogen and Heiji [1156-1159], it passed into the grasp of the Military Class. My ancestor was a recipient of especial favors at the hands of the Emperors, and during two hundred years his descendants have enjoyed the same favors successively. Although I hold my ancestor's office, there has been great mal-administration of the government and of the penal laws, the result being the present state of affairs. This is the effect of my want of virtue, and I cannot sufficiently deplore it. It appears to me that the laws cannot be maintained in face of the daily extension of our foreign relations, unless the government be conducted by one head ; and I propose, therefore, to surrender the whole governing power into the hands of the Imperial Court. This is the best I can do for the interests of the Empire in [at] this moment and I call upon you all to give your opinion as to the advisability of this course.”

Keiki had been the victim of severe criticism, but, as he himself expressed it in a verselet, “ The world often passes judgment, failing to understand the true inwardness of the circumstances.” All honor to him who had the vision to see, and the wisdom to recognize, that he was “ the last of the Shoguns ! ” As “ uncrowned kings, yet more powerful than the Emperor, whose delegates they were, the Tokugawa Shoguns had ruled the country without reference to the Imperial will for two centuries and a half, keeping within bounds the ambition of the great feudal lords by an internal policy of *divide et impera*. ”²

This is an appropriate place to add that the fall of the Sho-

¹ Also from Satow's “ Kinsei Shiriaku.”

² Transactions of the Japan Society, London, Vol. X, Pt. 2, p. 100.

gunate was naturally followed by the downfall of the whole system of feudalism. It soon became evident to all most interested in the new régime, that the unity of the administration and of the nation could not be accomplished by the elimination merely of the Shogun, but depended upon the elimination also of all the feudal lords. It is not surprising, therefore, to find, as early as March, 1869, that the great daimyos of Satsuma, Choshiu, Tosa and Hizen sent in a memorial, offering up the registers of their fiefs to the Emperor.¹ It is true that the first step taken was to retain the old feudal princes as governors of their former fiefs under the new administration. But this plan soon proved impracticable ; and the next step was the abolition of the fiefs and the establishment of prefectures in 1871.² And thus was shattered the "colossus of obsolete feudalism" in Japan.

II. CHANGE OF EMPEROR.

In the second place, early in 1867, occurred the death (from small-pox) of the Emperor Osahito, posthumously named Komei. He had ascended the throne in 1846 and ruled for more than twenty eventful years. He is appropriately called by Griffis "the last Mikado of Old Japan." The advent of Commodore Perry and all the turmoil and confusion which followed that event, and all the civil strife partly caused by the same event, disturbed the comfort of his reign and of his life. And "having none but the traditional ideas about aliens, he was a bitter hater of them."

Inasmuch as the administrative power was still in the hands of the Shogunate, and the Emperor was a figure-head, this change of person may seem to have been of slight importance. But it might well be called a dispensation of Providence. The authority of the Shogun was waning and the influence of the Emperor was waxing. The old Emperor was old-fashioned,

¹ This important memorial is reproduced in full in Note I.

² The decree is reproduced in Note II.

ultra-conservative, superstitious, a "bigoted barbarian-hating Mikado." "The revived national idea of patriotism sank into his heart; he hated the Bakufu as the usurper who had reduced his Imperial prerogatives to a nullity; he hated still more the foreigners, whom he had never seen, of whom he knew nothing, who now threatened to pollute his divine country with their presence."¹

He urged his people to rise against the "so-called Western barbarians" in a verselet, which was translated as follows by Okakura in "The Ideals of the East": "To the utmost of thy soul's power do thy best; then kneel alone and pray for the divine wind of Ise, that drove back the Tartar fleet." When he heard that Ii had signed the provisional treaty with America, in virtual defiance of his orders, "His Majesty was said to have been much enraged," to have fasted for six days and to have "prayed to the gods of the sixty provinces." But, in 1865, he was compelled, much against his will, to sign the treaties with foreign powers. The conservatives, by-the-way, considered his death by small-pox as a punishment by the gods for having signed the treaties. In reality, it was not a misfortune that such an Emperor was removed at that crisis.

On the other hand, the new Emperor was a young man of only 15, with mind and heart open to new ideas. And, most fortunately, he had around him a very broad-minded and progressive company of advisers, "to mould his opinion". He proved to be a man of "good sense and sound judgment" and "in full sympathy with their reforms." He "had already begun to breathe the freer air of a new life." Moreover, "he possessed, in an eminent degree, what is perhaps the most precious attribute of a sovereign, the faculty of judging men, of selecting the best among them as his advisers; and he gave to those whom he selected his complete confidence and a support that never wavered in its loyalty". And it must not be omitted that he was likewise fortunate in his consort, the late Empress

¹ Longford's "Story of Old Japan," p. 316.

Dowager, who "played a true woman's part" in all her duties, and though childless, was the beloved mother of millions.

On February 3, 1868, the Emperor issued to the foreign representatives the following manifesto¹ of a great change:

"The Emperor of Japan announces to the Sovereigns of all foreign nations and to their subjects, that permission has been granted to the Shogun Yoshinobu (Keiki) to return the governing power in accordance with his own request. Henceforward, We shall exercise supreme authority both in the internal and external affairs of the country. Consequently the title of Emperor should be substituted for that of Tycoon, which has been hitherto employed in the Treaties. Officers are being appointed by Us to conduct foreign affairs. It is desirable that the Representatives of all the Treaty Powers should recognize this announcement."

Concerning this manifesto, one writer² says: "Appended were the seal of Dai Nippon and the signature, Mutsuhito, this being the first occasion in Japanese history on which the name of an Emperor had appeared during his life time."

The new Emperor also gave "further proof" that "a new order had arisen" by inviting the Foreign Representatives to an audience before him in Kyoto. Murray³ says: "The significance of this event can scarcely now be conceived. Never before in the history of the Empire had its divine head deigned to admit to his presence the despised foreigner, or put himself on an equality with the sovereign of the foreigner." Before this, on January 1, 1868, both Hyogo (Kobe) and Osaka had been opened to foreign trade. Concerning this event, Longford writes in the following terms in his "Story of Old Japan" (p. 340): "The opening of the great historic commercial city [Osaka] in the immediate neighborhood of the sacred capital [Kyoto], the home of the mysterious and divine Emperor, was

¹ "History of Japan" (Adams), II, 105.

² Dixon in "The Land of the Morning."

³ "Japan" in the "Story of the Nations" series.

regarded as so important an event, as well as a triumph of Western diplomacy over the haughtiest and most rigid Japanese conservatism, that all the Foreign diplomatic representatives left their Legations in Yedo, and with a large fleet came to Osaka to give its opening the *éclat* of their presence."

The new Emperor's willingness to accept the wise advice of his counselors was soon evidenced in many ways. The most significant document of those early days which fall within the period under our consideration was his famous "Charter Oath" (1868) in which he outlined certain great changes in policy.¹ It specified, for instance, that "a deliberative assembly should be established, and all measures be decided by public opinion"; that "all the old absurd usages of former times should be disregarded, and the impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of nature be adopted as a basis of action"; and that "wisdom and ability should be sought after in all quarters of the world for the purpose of firmly establishing the foundations of the Empire." That was surely an "ambitious programme" of radical changes. And this manifesto was followed up in the following year by calling together a "Kogisho," which, though an assembly of only daimyos and their representatives and "purely a consultative or advisory organ of the government," without legislative powers, was the first step toward constitutional government with its representative institutions.

III. CHANGE OF CAPITAL.

In the third place, in 1868, the city of Yedo became the "Eastern Capital" (Tokyo), while the old capital, the city of Kyoto, was renamed "Saikyo" (Western Capital). It should be added here, that the new name has not succeeded in supplanting the old name in the case of Kyoto, but has entirely superseded it in the case of Yedo. That is one point of interest in connection with these vital changes, for it significantly illustrates the fact that no great reform could have been effected without

¹ See substance of the "Charter Oath" in Note III.

the change of locality, of environment. Kyoto represented the unchangeable conservatism of the age; and it has not yet accepted even its new name, which would place it, theoretically at least, on a basis of equality with the former Yedo. Kyoto seems to recognize that it is not even nominally a "capital," in the political sense; it is a capital only from the historical point of view.

The chief credit for the change of capital belongs to Okubo, "one of the ablest of the statesmen of the new era. It was, indeed, "a novel and startling proposition," to the effect that the capital be removed to Osaka.¹ That would have been a "great and impressive change," but not so great as the change which was finally decided upon after some discussion and careful consideration:

By-the-way, in the September (1917) issue of *The New East* (p. 16), it was suggested that "it would be an interesting exercise for an idle moment to consider what the effect on the development of Japan would have been, if the capital—the future site of which was an open question at one time—had not been fixed as far north as (Yedo) Tokyo." At any rate, it was removed from Kyoto, "the sacred city of the Empire," the place which had been "the capital of the Empire and the home of the Emperor" for almost 1,100 years (794-1868). It was removed from Kyoto, which was "associated mainly with memories of the subjection of the legitimate sovereign's influence to that of successive dynasties of usurpers," to Yedo, which was "associated in the minds of the whole nation with the direct and effective exercise of authority."²

This removal of the capital was most significant, because it recognized "Yedo as really the center of the national life"; so that it seems to me that Longford is hardly correct in "The Evolution of New Japan," when he dubs it "the mushroom

¹ The full text of Okubo's memorial is given in Note IV.

² Longford's "Story of Old Japan," p. 349.

capital." And it was a good stroke of policy to maintain the center of administration in the old capital of the activity of the fallen Shogunate. Murray¹ well says that "by this change more than any other was emphasized the fact that hereafter the executive as well as the ultimate power was to be found in the same Imperial hands," and in the same place. But, as Griffis² says, "it is not easy for a foreigner to comprehend the profound sensation produced throughout the Empire when the Mikado left Kioto to make his abode in another city. . . . A band of fanatics, fired with the Yamato-damashii, religiously opposed, but in vain, his journey eastward."

There seem to have been several reasons for the preference of Yedo over Osaka. Black, in his "Young Japan," says (Vol. II, pp. 228, 229): "In the first place, it jumped with the prejudices of the people; then it was a more central position than Osaka; and a more potent reason still may have been that it was the very heart of Tokugawa power. The presence of the Mikado in the midst of the friends of Tokugawa might frustrate any attempts at conspiracy. . . . There was yet one other motive which led to the removal of the Court to [Yedo] Tokyo. Money was wanted. The revenues of the Tokugawa family must be seized." Adams³ expresses it this way: "He [Emperor] would show to his subjects in the Kwanto that the power of the Shoguns was gone, and that he had really resumed his rightful place."

This move was, in effect, a revival of the prosperity of Yedo. One thing which had helped mightily to make Yedo was the custom of compelling the daimyos to spend a portion of their time in residence there, where thus "most brightly shone the splendor of the old feudal times."

But when this custom was abolished, the daimyos with their retainers, "like wild birds in an open cage," "fled from

¹ "Story of Japan," p. 377. ² "The Mikado's Empire," p. 318.

³ "History of Japan," Vol. II, p. 160.

the city in less than a week." And Griffis¹ adds: "Yedo's glory faded like a dream, and the power, and greatness of the Tokugawa came to naught." A native writer says, rather extravagantly, that "the flourishing city of Yedo became like a desert." There was another conspiracy, however, "to burn Tokyo, to carry back the Emperor to Kyoto, and change the whole system of government"; but it was discovered and frustrated. And, when (January 1, 1869), the new capital was opened for residence by foreigners within certain limits, the metropolis entered upon a new era of prosperity. And that era in Japanese literature is appropriately called by Aston² the "Tokyo Period."

IV. CHANGE OF YEAR-PERIOD.

In the fourth place, the name of the year-period was changed so that 1868, for only a short time the fourth year of Keio, became the first year of the era of "Meiji," which very appropriately means "Enlightened Rule." And it was then decided that the old custom of sudden and frequent changes of year-periods, some of which lasted only one year or even less, should be abolished and that thereafter the eras should correspond with the reigns of the Emperors.

The Keio Era was short but eventful and preserves its name in the great school, Keiogijiku, whose hospitality the Asiatic Society of Japan has enjoyed for several years. And linked with Keiogijiku is, of course, the name of its great founder, the grand old man, the commoner, Yukichi Fukuzawa. And his name is linked closely with all the changes and transformations of New Japan. It is interesting to note in passing, that, while, on July 4, 1868, the forces of the Shogun and the Emperor were battling at Uyeno, Fukuzawa, heedless of military conflict and political strife, was quietly carrying on his school (though with depleted classes) at Teppozu in Tsukiji, Tokyo

¹ "The Mikado's Empire," p. 318. ² "Japanese Literature."

and was expounding Wayland's "Political Economy." And Fukuzawa's work in changing Japan, which he mightily assisted in its transformations, is well summed up by Iyenaga in "The Constitutional Development of Japan" in the following language: "Mr. Fukuzawa, a schoolmaster, an author, and a lecturer, the man who exercised an immense influence in shaping the mind of young Japan, gave a death-blow to the old ideas of despotic government and of the blind obedience of the people, when he declared, that *government exists for the people, and not the people for government* [italics Iyenaga's], that the government officials are the servants of the people, and the people their employer."

While, in the case of the Meiji Era and the Meiji Emperor, the two were not exactly synchronous, because the era was established by the Emperor in the year following his accession to the throne, yet they practically corresponded. Although it may not be absolutely accurate from the mathematical point of view to say that "Mutsuhito equals Meiji," yet the two terms are practically equivalent and synchronous. The reign of Mutsuhito the Great was truly one of Enlightened Rule. The Meiji Emperor lived his own name, Mutsuhito, which means "Friendly (and) Benevolent," and he lived the name Meiji, which means "Enlightened Rule." The Meiji Era was the era of the Emperor Meiji.

CONCLUSION.

These four chief changes definitely marked the distinction between the old and the new ; and they are four signs of national evolution. The new Shogun, who was a man of liberal ideas, was willing and ready to unify the administration and authority of the Empire by self-effacement. The new young Emperor came under the formative influences of the new reconstructive spirit. The new capital presented a new political and social atmosphere, surcharged with the ozone of progress. The new era, in its very name, encouraged the spirit of optimism and was

prophetic of the illustrious rule of that new Emperor, upon whom the posthumous name of Meiji was appropriately conferred.

These changes all meant a new interpretation of the very fashionable word "loyalty," which was broadened out to be synonymous with "patriotism." The chief phase of the change was possibly, as Dr. Haga has pointed out,¹ a restoration of the meaning of the word "loyalty" to its original sense, so that it came again "to be restricted to the Emperor." During the feudal regime, it had been rather narrow and limited in its scope as applied to only the clan-group. Hearn, in his "Japan: an Interpretation" (p. 327), says of the feudal retainer that "his fatherland, his country, his world, extended only to the boundary of his chief's domain." Thus it became evident to the reformers of New Japan, that it was "a matter of paramount importance" to destroy the divisive force of the feudal clans by dissolving those groups permanently.

Loyalty is a narrow, personal, individual virtue; patriotism is a broad, social, national virtue; and loyalty evolved into patriotism, as a fundamental change in the process of the evolution of New Japan. We quote again from Hearn's "Interpretation" (p. 329): "The religion of loyalty, evolved by a thousand years of war, could not be cast away. . . . Destroyed by reconstruction it could not be; but it could be diverted and transformed. Diverted, therefore, to nobler ends—expanded to larger needs—it became the new national sentiment of trust and duty; the modern sense of patriotism."

These are not mere "verbal changes," but real ones. We may, therefore, sum them all up by saying that "Yedo," the old capital of the Shogun, who surrendered his power, became "Tokyo," the new capital of the new Emperor, ruling in a new era, over a new people, with a new conception of loyalty.

¹ *The Far East*, September 8, 1917 (p. 626).

NOTE I.

That memorial is said to have been written by Kido, who has been called "the pen of the Revolution," while Okubo was called "the sword of the Revolution." This translation is by Mitford and was made for the Blue Book of "Affairs in Japan 1868-70"; and it was reproduced in Black's "Young Japan," Vol. II, pp. 256-258. Another translation, published by Gubbins in "The Progress of Japan," pp. 313-315, is reproduced by McLaren in his "Japanese Government Documents," which fill Part I of Vol. XLII of the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan." While the latter translation is more modern in its phraseology, the former is more interesting, because it has preserved more of the Japanese flavor in style and peculiar phrases. Mitford's translation reads as follows:

Memorial of the Daimios of the West.

In the humble opinion of certain ministers [i.e., in our opinion], the Great Body [the Imperial Government] must not lose a single day, the Great Strength must not delegate its power for a single day. Since the Heavenly Ancestors established the foundations of the country, the Imperial line has not failed for ten thousand ages. Heaven and Earth [i.e., Japan] are the Emperor's; there is no man who is not his retainer: this constitutes the Great Body. By the conferring of rank and property, the Emperor governs his people: it is his to give and his to take away; of our own selves we cannot hold a foot of land; of our own selves we cannot take a single man: this constitutes the Great Strength. In ancient times the Emperor governed the Seagirt Land; and trusting to the Great Body and the Great Strength, the Imperial wisdom of itself ruled over all: truth and propriety being upheld, there was prosperity under heaven.

In the middle ages, the ropes of the net were relaxed, so that men, toying with the Great Strength and striving for the Power, crowded upon the Emperor: and half the world tried to appropriate the people and to steal the land. Beating, and

gnawing, and theft, and rapine, were the order of the day. When the Great Body that should have been preserved, and the Great Strength that should have been maintained, were gone, there were no means left for repressing these evils. Traitors encouraged one another until the strong preyed upon and devoured the weak. The chief traitors annexed province upon province, while the lesser maintained several thousand retainers. Upon this arose the Bakufu [Government of Shoguns], which also divided territories and men, as seemed good to it, among private individuals, thus planting and defending its own power. Thus it was that the Emperor wore an empty and a vain rank, and, the order of things being reversed, looked up to the Bakufu as the dispenser of joy or sorrow. For more than 600 years, the waters, turned from their course, have flooded the land and reached to heaven. During this time, the Bakufu borrowed the name and authority of the Emperor to conceal the traces of thefts of lands and men, being forced to use the Imperial name as a blind, because the relations and duties of the vassal to his lord cannot be laid aside after ten thousand years.

Now, the great Government has been newly restored, and the Emperor himself undertakes the direction of affairs. This is indeed a rare and mighty event. We have the name [of an Imperial Government], we must also have the fact. Our first duty is to illustrate our faithfulness and to prove our loyalty. When the line of Tokugawa arose, it divided the country among its kinsfolk, and there were many who founded the fortunes of their families upon it. They waited not to ask whether the lands and men that they received were the gift of the Emperor; for ages they continued to inherit these lands till this day. Others said that their possessions were the prize of their spears and bows, as if they had entered storehouses and stolen the treasure therein, boasting to the soldiers by whom they were surrounded that they had done this regardless of their lives. Those who enter storehouses are known by all men to be

thieves, but those who rob lands and steal men are not looked upon with suspicion. How are loyalty and faith confused and destroyed!

Now that men are seeking for an entirely new Government, the Great Body and the Great Strength must be neither lent nor borrowed.

The place where we live is the Emperor's land, and the food which we eat is grown by the Emperor's men. How can we make it our own? We now reverently offer up the list of our possessions and men, with the prayer that the Emperor will take good measures for rewarding those to whom reward is due, and for taking from those to whom punishment is due. Let the Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodeling the territories of the various clans. Let the civil and penal codes, the military laws down to the rules for uniform, and the construction of engines of war, proceed from the Emperor: let all the affairs of the Empire, great and small, be referred to him. After this, when the internal relations of the country shall be upon a true footing, the Empire will be able to take its place side by side with the other countries of the world. This is now the most urgent duty of the Emperor, as it is that of his servants and children. Hence it is that we, in spite of our folly and vileness, daring to offer up our humble expression of loyalty, upon which we pray that the heavenly sun may shine, with fear and reverence bow the head and do homage, ready to lay down our lives in proof of our faith.

NOTE II.

The following translation of the decree abolishing fenalism is also taken from Black's "Young Japan" (Vol. II, pp. 319, 320). It may also be found in McLaren's "Japanese Government Documents," mentioned in the preceding note.

IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ON ABOLITION OF FIEFS.

We are of opinion that, in a time of radical reform like the

present, if We desire by its means to give protection and tranquillity to the people at home, and to maintain [abroad] equality with foreign nations, words must be made to mean in reality what they claim to signify, and the Government of the country must center in a single whole.

Some time ago, We gave Our sanction to the scheme by which all the clans restored to Us their registers; We, for the first time appointed *Chiji* [Governors], each to perform the duties of his office.

But, owing to the lengthened endurance of the old system during several hundred years, there have been cases where the word only was pronounced, and the reality not performed. How is it possible for Us, under such circumstances, to give protection and tranquillity to the people, and to maintain equality with foreign nations?

Profoundly regretting this condition of affairs, We now completely abolish the *Han* (Clans or Fiefs) and convert them into *Ken* (Prefectures), with the object of diligently retrenching [unnecessary] expenditure and of arriving at convenience [in working; of getting rid of the unreality of names; and of abolishing the disease of government proceeding from multiform centers.

Do ye, Our assembled servants, take well to heart this Our will.

(August 29, 1871).

NOTE III.

We append here the substance of the "Charter Oath" as given by Uyehara on p. 57 of his "Political Development of Japan, 1867-1909." It was proclaimed on April 6, 1868.

1. An Assembly widely convoked shall be established, and all affairs of state decided by impartial discussion.
2. All administrative affairs of state shall be conducted by the co-operative efforts of the governing and the governed.
3. All the people—officials, soldiers and others—ought

to be prevented from becoming idle and discontented by encouraging the achievement of their legitimate desires.

4. All absurd old usages shall be abandoned, and justice and righteousness shall regulate all actions.

5. Knowledge and learning shall be sought for all over the world, and thus the foundations of the Imperial polity be greatly strengthened.

The quotations in the body of this paper were taken from Iyenaga's version as given in his "Constitutional Development of Japan" (p. 33). McLaren uses a still different wording in his "Japanese Government Documents" (p. 8).

NOTE IV.

The following is Okubo's Memorial, as given on pp. 184-187 of Vol. II of Black's "Young Japan":—

Such a great revolution as the present has never taken place since the creation of Japan. How can it be judged of by ordinary rules? In a single battle, the Government forces have gained a victory, and the chief rebel [Keiki] has fled eastward, but his lurking place is not yet conquered. Laws which shall ensure amicable relations with foreign countries have still to be framed. The clans are in a state of alienation and insubordination, and the attitude they shall assume is yet a matter of uncertainty. Men's minds are unsettled, and the public business is in a state of confusion. The great work of restoring the ancient constitution is only half accomplished; it may be said that it has only just commenced. If the Imperial Court seek only a temporary advantage instead of ensuring permanent tranquillity, we shall have a repetition of the old thing, like the rise of the Ashikaga after the destruction of the Hojo. A getting rid of one traitor only to have another spring up.

The most pressing of Your Majesty's pressing duties at the present moment is not to look at the Empire only, and judge carelessly by appearances, but to consider carefully the actual state of the whole world, to reform the inveterate and

slothful habits induced during several hundred years, and to give union to the nation, so that the whole Empire shall be moved to tears of gratitude, and both high and low appreciate the blessing of having a Sovereign in whom they can place their trust.

Hitherto, the person whom we designate the Sovereign has lived behind a screen, and, as if he were different from other human beings, has not been seen by more than a limited number of *Kuge* [Court Nobles]; and, as his heaven-conferred office of father to his people has been thereby unfulfilled, it is necessary that this office should be ascertained in accordance with this fundamental principle, and then the laws governing internal affairs may be established.

In order to establish a great reformation by the light of this principle, it is necessary that the capital be moved. To proceed to prove this: degenerate customs are not matters of reason but of feeling, and feeling depends upon conventional phrases. To instance one or two of these constitutional [conventional?] phrases, the residence of the Sovereign is called "above the clouds," his nobles are styled "men of the region above the clouds," his face is compared to "a dragon's countenance," as something not easily to be seen, and his "geni-like person" is spoken of by excess of respect as something which must not touch the earth; so that he begins to think himself a more honorable and illustrious being than he is, until, high and low being alienated from him, his condition comes to be as miserable as it now is. No argument is required to prove that respect for superiors and kindness to inferiors is the great bond of human society: but, if the former be carried to an excess, the end is that both Prince and subject forget their duties to each other. The praise accorded to the Emperor Nintoku arises from this; and the Sovereigns of other countries who walk about with only one or two attendants to look after the interests of their subjects, may truly be said to discharge the duties of Princes.

In the present period of reformation and restoration of the Government to its ancient monarchical form, the way to carry out the resolution of imitating the example of Japanese sages and of surpassing the excellent Government of foreign nations is to change the site of the capital.

Unless Your Majesty takes advantage of the present opportunity and adopts an easy and convenient means of clearing away old abuses; unless you discharge the princely duty conferred on you by heaven of being the father of your people, and establish universally such a system that the whole Empire shall tremble and obey your commands, it will be impossible to make the Imperial glory shine beyond the seas, or to take rank among the nations of the earth.

Osaka is the fittest place for the capital to be removed to. A temporary palace can be fixed upon, the form of Government take a distinct shape, and great things will be accomplished. For the conduct of foreign relations, for enriching the country and strengthening its military power, for adopting successful means of offense and defense, for establishing an army and navy, the place is peculiarly fitted by its position. But I will not urge more here, for the different departments will have their arguments to advance also.

This question seems to be the pivot on which our domestic affairs turn; and I think it is one that calls for instant decision. Should this plan be carried out, the basis of our internal government will have been established. Should the capital be removed to some other place than Osaka, through anxiety lest some little difficulties should arise, a great opportunity will have been lost, and the Empire be deprived of a valuable advantage.

I most humbly pray Your Majesty to open your eyes and make this reform, and to set forth upon the journey without loss of time. Capital punishment should not deter me from making this petition.

OKUBO ICHIZO.

Black makes the following comments upon Okubo's memorial: "Okubo was the first to make a plain and definite proposal, dealing with the position of the Mikado. It was a bold thing to do. Many a man of far higher rank than he had, in the days of the Tycoonate [Shogunate], been obliged to perform *harakiri* for less startling propositions." "This memorial produced a lively effect upon the Court, and to the advice contained in it the subsequent removal of the Mikado to Yedo was no doubt due."

NOTE V.

I must call attention to the fact that in English books on Japan there is great confusion with reference to dates, especially up to (and even including) 1872, when the Gregorian calendar went into effect. There is a pernicious habit of translating "the 1st day of the 1st month" (o.c.) by "January 1," when it never could fall on that day, but must be anywhere from three to six weeks later. This confusion is perhaps, more common even in newspapers and magazines than in books. One must therefore, be very careful about accepting dates as exact; for they may be only approximate, in case they fall in or before 1872. For further information concerning Japanese calendars and comparative chronology, see the writer's paper on "Japanese Calendars" in Vol. XXX, and on "Japanese and Comparative Chronology" in Vol. XXXVII, of the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan."



DISCUSSION OF PROF. CLEMENT'S PAPER.

By DR. S. H. WAINWRIGHT.

Prof. Clement has added another chapter to the writings by which he has illuminated the history of the Japanese people. He has a lucid style and the happy faculty of selecting events, full of significance and interest, and of seeing their logical sequence and their influence upon affairs. The four changes to which he calls attention throw new light upon the complex transition period in Japan.

In our discussion of the paper, we can do scarcely more than elaborate upon what has been said. But before offering remarks upon the four events separately, we may be permitted to make two general observations; first, there is a growing inclination among historians now to take a wider outlook in writing of any local period, and this seems to be peculiarly necessary in order to interpret the affairs of Japan at the time of the Restoration. Secondly, in the writing of history, the comparative judgment must be continually exercised in order to form a just estimate of the *degree* of importance that should be attached to each single event. This also seems to be peculiarly necessary in any account of the Restoration period in Japan, so various and complicated were the forces at work during Japan's transition.

With respect to the change of Shoguns, when Iemochi died in 1866 and was followed by Yoshinobu, or Keiki, in 1867, what Prof. Clement says of this and of the last of the Shoguns is quite true. There are other events, however, that should be considered together with Keiki's surrender of power to the Emperor, if the fall of the Shogunate is to be adequately explained. For example, the following, it seems to us, bear relation to that great event, in

the history of Japan: The long reign of Komei Tennō (1), extending unbroken as it did from 1846 to 1847, and covering the entire period during which negotiations were conducted with foreign countries, in contrast with the frequent changes to which the Shogunate was subjected during this same period of time. During Komei Tennō's reign there were four different Shoguns, two of whom were mere youths, and the reigns of all of whom were of short duration. Ienari administered the *Bakufu* from 1787 to 1836, a period of forty-five years. Ieyoshi governed the country from 1837 to 1852. But from this time on, the Shogunate entered choppy seas, in contrast to which was the unbroken calm of the Imperial reign. These changes, coming at this time, must have had a weakening effect upon the Shogunate, especially as the negotiations with foreigners, the legitimacy of which was called in question throughout the country, had to be conducted by Prime Ministers. At the very time the Shogunate was put upon its greatest strain, it was lacking in rulers of strength and duration of power.

Again (2), the conflict of the Shogunate with the Choshu clan had the effect of weakening the former. The presence of Ito and Inouye in the Choshu clan, both of whom had returned from England, should also be considered, for their guidance of the Choshu men contributed to the overthrow of the Shogun forces. The departure of Iemochi (3), from Yedo, and also later of Yoshinobu, the last of the Shoguns, and their visit to Kyoto, was an unfortunate step for the Shogunate. Their presence at the Court in Kyoto made their usurpation of power all the more apparent to the country. In their close proximity to the Throne, they could only be recognized as Ministers and could not pose under the guise of sovereigns. They were no doubt aware, or the Prime Ministers who were guiding them, of the effect of their departure from Yedo. But by going to Kyoto they sought to avoid the negotiations forced upon them by foreigners and to throw upon the Throne the onus and responsibility by which the Shogunate was becoming increasingly

unpopular with the nation. This leads (4), to the last fact we would mention, and the principal one, according to our mind, among those conditions which brought about the downfall of the Tokugawa dynasty. The Yedo government was caught between a stubborn national prejudice on the one hand and the pressure from the outside world on the other hand. The nation demanded that the barbarians be expelled, as was evidenced by the cry of *Jo-i*. The foreign countries demanded that Japan be opened, but *Kaikoku* or 'the opening of the country' had few champions among the Japanese, though their number gradually increased. If one should seek to express in a historical formula the essential truth of this historical event, he might say that the downfall of the Shogunate was due to the making of treaties with foreigners by the Shogun, against the will of the Emperor and without sovereign power. The ambiguity thus expressed became increasingly apparent. In Japan it led to the identification of *Jo-i* (expel the barbarians) with *Son-O* (honor the king).¹ It is a mistake to give Sir Harry Parkes credit for first forcing to the front this issue. The ratification of the treaties was urged upon the Emperor by representatives of foreign governments in 1864, a year before Sir Harry Parkes arrived. The foreign ministers felt much sympathy for the Shogun, with whom they had negotiated and from whom they had obtained concessions, for the making of which the Shogun had suffered at the hands of his countrymen. But the foreign ministers recognized that sovereign power belonged to the Throne and that negotiations could not be successful until ratified by the Emperor.

As regards the second change referred to in the paper, the change of Emperors, we would remark that the respective attitude of the two Sovereigns, Komei Tennō and Meiji Tennō, must have been determined to a very great degree, by the prevailing spirit at the time of the reign of each. The *Jo-i* spirit was focalized upon Komei Tennō, the *Kaikoku* spirit had become dominant before Meiji Tennō had been long upon the throne.

Prof. Clement fully recognizes this in his paper. He does not fall into the error, as some have done, of interpreting the Charter Oath as expressing, without advice from others, the Emperor's mind, who was only fifteen years old when the Charter Oath was promulgated by him.

In the discussion of the change of capitals, there is one statement in the paper which should not be misunderstood. The removal of the capital was certainly due, in part at least, to the advocacy of Okubo, but not its removal to Yedo. Okubo favored Osaka. His argument for the removal of the capital was based upon the plea that the presence of the Emperor in the midst of affairs was needed to insure permanent tranquility. "Hitherto the residence of the Sovereign," he says, "is spoken of as 'above the clouds,' his nobles are styled 'men of the region above the clouds,' his face is compared to a dragon's countenance, as something not easily to be seen, and his 'gem-like person' is spoken of by excess of respect as something which must not 'touch the earth.'" Okubo's loyalty to the throne prompted this plea. "If the Imperial Court," he says, "seek only a temporary advantage instead of insuring permanent tranquility, we shall have a repetition of the old thing, like the rise of the Ashikaga after the destruction of the Hojo. A getting rid of one traitor only to have another spring up."

We agree with Prof. Clement that it is not just to characterize Yedo as a "mushroom capital." In considering the claims of Osaka and Yedo, it should be borne in mind that Japan has two natural centers, one in the north-east and the other in the south-west, the base of one being the Tokyo Bay and the base of the other the Osaka Bay. As early as the beginning of the Kamakura period, these two centers were established in the history of the nation. Besides the reason given in the paper for the choice of Yedo as the new capital, mention might be made (1) of the revenues of the Shogunate which were needed by the new administration, and (2), the presence of both America and Russia on the horizon of Japan, the approach of both of

which powers was from the northward and their negotiations had been conducted with the northern capital. The astonishing economic advance of Tokyo as a center has shown that not only military and official but also industrial interests are predominant at this point. Osaka as a center has grown relatively in importance as Japan's trade in the Far East and in India has increased. In 1916, the volume of clearing-house business in Tokyo was about nine billion and in Osaka about five billion yen.

The *nengō*, we may remark, was not used in the early history of Japan, but was adopted from China in 645 A.D. Its use had already been discontinued in China. The commencement of the year period with the reign of a new Emperor has been the rule in China from the time of the first Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, about 1366 A.D. The change in Japan in 1867 was a revival of the system of counting the years by the reigns of the monarchs followed in Japan previous to Kwogioku Tennō. It is difficult to see any material change in the current of affairs produced by the adoption of the present method. It may symbolize to us, however, one aspect of the modern era, namely, the placing of limitations upon Imperial prerogative. The change of year-names (*nengō*), was authorized by the sovereign, and Komei Tennō exercised this prerogative to the full. There were six different year-names during his reign.



SOME ASPECTS OF JAPANESE FEUDAL INSTITUTIONS.

By PROFESSOR K. ASAKAWA.

SYNOPSIS

What is a "feudal" system? Its characteristics. Conditions for its rise. Is feudalism a normal growth?

The *shō* (庄) at its full growth (c. 1150).

The seignior.

The *shiki* (職).

Tenures.

Classes.—*jū-nin* (住人, "residents"), *jū-shū* (地主, "landholders"), *saku-nin* (作人, "cultivators").

Comparison with the Manor and the Fief. Two problems.

An interpretation of the *shō*.

Feudal period I, c. 1185-1333.

Increased power of the seignior.

Unfinished assimilation of tenures, and a new alignment of classes.

Feudal period II, 1336-1600.

Complete feudalization of local government and of land tenure. (The fief.)

Nearly finished separation of arms and land. (*Hyaku-shō*, 百姓.)

Reunion begun of land and its *shiki*. (Peasant classes.)

Feudal period III, 1600-1868.

A régime no longer purely feudal.

A peasantry equalized and disciplined.

Fellow members of the Asiatic Society of Japan, and Ladies and Gentlemen :—I fear that my lecture will not be so interesting as some of you may have been led to suppose by its title. I shall not have time to go into details, it is true, and shall have to confine myself to some of the larger aspects of Japanese feudalism ; but these aspects will not be of the poetry and romance of feudal life, but of the structure of feudal society. The discussion will therefore be largely institutional. As Stubbs has said, in the preface to his *Constitutional History of England*, an institutional study cannot even be approached without an effort.

What is feudalism ? Even with quite a vague idea of the feudal society, we are ready to imagine it as possessing certain distinct characteristics ; and the clearer our understanding grows, the more pronounced and exhaustive we find these characteristics to be. They are not incidental points that touch the society here and there, but are controlling factors that determine its very foundation and structure. And yet careless writers have attributed "feudal" developments to many lands some of which hardly present social features that are even common to them all, much less that are fundamentally feudal. The confusion is worse in Japanese writings, for the familiar term *hō-ken* (封建), which has come to be taken as equivalent to "feudal," carries with it a literal meaning far removed from such feudalism as developed in medieval Europe ; few things could be more inexact than the application of this same term at once to the early and the late Chou periods of Chinese history, or to the Japanese society of the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries. It is, therefore, necessary to approach the subject of my lecture with a clear definition of my use of the word "feudal."

Feudal characteristics are unique, but not simple. In a feudal society :—(1) The ruling class should consist of groups of fighting men, each group chained together by links of an exhaustive personal bond of mutual service—a bond so personal that, in the last analysis, it should obtain, in each link, between two armed men only, lord and vassal: and so exhaustively personal

that the one should swear to the other fidelity even unto death. Although the vassal's service is usually rewarded with a grant of land, land enters into this relation only as a secondary factor, the primary motive power being the personal agreement in arms between the lord and his man. (2) There, however, being other classes of people also, the division of all the classes, including the warrior class, should coincide with their private tenures of land,—the private land law of this peculiar society recognizing no absolute ownership, (except perhaps in the supreme overlord, if he did exist), but only a series of relative tenures. (3) In the general political life of the society as a whole, these private tenures of land should condition the exercise of public rights and obligations; and the superior rights of land should fall into the hands of the privately armed men, who should accordingly assume all the public functions of State;—in other words, the ruling class having secured the control of arms and land, there should result the singular spectacle of the private usurpation of public rights, and the public utilization of private institutions; that is, in government, in finance, in military affairs, and in the administration of justice, there should be a complete confusion or coalescence of the public and the private.

I must beg your indulgence for these involved sentences. Between the multiplicity of the necessary factors and the need for brevity in expression, a crowded description seems unavoidable.

All feudal societies, however small or large, simple or complicated, whether organized in a hierarchy or confused in a state of practical anarchy, must, in order to be feudal, comprise *all* of these three essential characteristics. Nothing short of their concurrent action persisting for centuries can produce those distinct marks upon all phases of social life, political, moral, and cultural, that we associate with the word "feudal."

We know that, in western Europe and in Japan, feudal societies of this description have had full opportunities, not only to rise, but also slowly to mature and to decay. Whether or

not the same may be said of any other part of the world, it is in these two places that written sources available for the study of the whole process exist in the richest abundance.

Here the question arises as to whether feudalism represents a necessary stage in the normal life of all human societies. If one is inclined to be so bold as to attempt to answer this question, it would be well for him to reflect now rarely in social history all the complex conditions necessary for a feudal development could be found in joint operation. An extraordinary combination of several sets of circumstances would seem to be required for producing each of the three characteristics of feudalism that we have enumerated. Let us essay to examine some of these circumstances. Again I am obliged to trouble you with a few tortuous sentences.

For the rise of feudal institutions, (1) it is necessary that the society should have organized itself into a more or less centralized state, and at the same time retain its memory of that older mode of life in which kinship was the controlling bond of society; and that the state should, for some reason, be thrown into profound unrest, utterly losing its power to safeguard life and property by means of regular state agencies, and men should recoil to their old habits of clan life under the new condition;—the result being a spontaneous break-up of society into small private groups of men armed for defence and offence, and exercising within themselves all the essential functions that had till lately belonged to the state; (2) it is necessary that this society should definitely be in what has been termed the stage of “land economy,” so that there should be, in relation to the population, scarcity of money in circulation and abundance of land for agricultural uses; and that this condition should be attended by a land law that is quite inadequate to regulate man's cupidity in an age of disorder; the natural result being the rise and prevalence, at the very centre of social economy, of land areas and landed relations of private character; and (3) it is necessary that the social unrest should persist during a sufficiently long

period (about six centuries in the cases both of Europe and of Japan) to enable the private relations to make such progressive adjustments, that finally their two sides—namely, land and armed service—should penetrate into each other and be beaten into a unique system of social organization the chief characteristics of which we analyzed at the beginning.

Every one of these complex circumstances attended the feudal formation in Europe and in Japan. And it is the very complexity of the necessary conditions that renders the coincidence of the European and Japanese developments most striking. For different as they were—significantly different from each other—the difference obtained in respects other than the fundamental characteristics and conditions that we have discussed.

Having surveyed the conditions for feudal growth, we are perhaps in a better position to consider the question whether feudalism will come sooner or later to all societies at a certain stage of their development. This will be one of the great problems that the future science of social life will have to solve. In our present state of knowledge, we ought not to presume to return a categorical answer; for, while the correct answer should manifestly be inductive, we are still far from being enabled to make a scientific comparison of all the historic systems of feudalism. I shall venture merely to offer a few suggestions that seem to follow my own understanding of the necessary conditions.

If it be true that a real feudalism could arise only at the stage of "land economy," it is clear that feudalism will not grow among a nomadic or pastoral people, for they have not properly reached that stage. Nor could feudalism be born in a civilized community of to-day, or in its colony, for it already is in the economic stage of money and credit; moreover, the rivalry with other civilized nations and the need of domestic security that characterize modern society have caused a centralization of its government, while memories of clan life as the binding principle of social organization have long since been lost. Under an imperial régime, also, even at a stage of land economy, its central

ization of power will prove an effective check against a true feudal formation. Eliminating these societies, then, will feudalism occur in all other societies when they come to the stage of land economy? I should answer: No, if their land law is at all adequate; if their state power is not completely broken down under a social unrest that shall continue for a very long period; if the people have not fresh memories of clan life and have not also experienced a centralized political life; and, finally, if all these conditions do not obtain at the same time among an energetic race. Now, the simultaneous existence of the memory of clan life and the experience of state politics—which was due, in Europe, only to an admixture of the Teutonic and Roman culture, and, in Japan, only to the grafting of Chinese institutions upon the native—is indicative of the extraordinary character of the concurrent forces that are needed for the development of a feudal system. I am inclined to think that feudal growth (like social progress itself) is *not* normal; and is, on the whole, a fortunate abnormality that has been the gift of a very few races in the world's history.

It is high time that I should be done with the preliminaries and at last enter my main subject. Were my researches more advanced than they are, and had I the time, I should take up the following four topics in order:—the origins of the *shō*, (I shall presently explain the *shō*); the origins of the warrior class; the union of the two; and the subsequent developments. I am, however, obliged to leave the question of the origins entirely untouched, partly because I have elsewhere given a tentative view of it¹, and partly because I shall have an opportunity to discuss it more fully in the future. Nor can I tarry to demonstrate that, in relation to feudal origins, as well as to feudal developments, a comparative study of the European and the Japanese systems is bound to bring about an important revision of the perspective that has been gained through a vision confined to either system

¹ In the *American Historical Review*, Vol. XX, No. 1, (October, 1914).

to the exclusion of the other. Time at my disposal permits me only to touch briefly on some of the broader features of the framework of the Japanese system ; and my present state of knowledge demands that my treatment of them be largely tentative. That is, I shall give you more problems and suggestions than conclusions, and those will have to be of a very general nature.

The starting point of my discourse should be the *shō*. *Shō* (莊 or 庄) was the generic name applied to several species of private domains,—such as *shō* in the narrower sense, *sono*, *maki*, *soma*, and the like, after their conditions had been more or less equalized,—whose nature as an institution defies an exact definition. Being a slow, unpremeditated growth under circumstances of considerable diversity, the *shō* may better be described and analyzed than briefly defined. When they made their modest appearance in the eighth century, the *shō* were few in number and of an irregular and varying institutional character ; but they all shared in common at least the following aspects : (1) Each *shō* contained, as its chief element, a tract of land that had been newly brought under cultivation ; (2) The *shō* was under the patronage of some person of influence or of an institution, known as the *hon-ke* (本家) and *ryō-ke* (領家), to whom we shall hereafter apply the word "seignior" ; (3) Some *shō* enjoyed or claimed and all *shō* aspired for fiscal immunity in whole or in part, the extent of their immunity being coincident with the degree to which their revenues were diverted from the fiscus of the state to the private coffer of the seignior. In the course of the next four hundred years, *shō* so far increased in number and in immunity at the expense of the state, that, at the end of the twelfth century, their extent probably equaled that of the public domain, and their practical influence upon the political and economic life of the nation overshadowed that of the government. At the same time, the *shō* underwent as remarkable an internal development. It is the first requisite for the student of Japanese feudalism to gain an understanding of the nature of the *shō* from a comparative point of view.

We shall imagine ourselves visiting a typical *shō* about the year 1150, for then the *shō* as an institution had attained its full maturity. Here we find our *shō* already immune or nearly so from taxation and from the intrusion of public officials. More or less autonomous, the *shō* is under the shadowy rule of an absent seignior, who is a court noble at Kyōto or perhaps a great temple; his interest is in the keeping of his agent residing in the *shō*. Under these agents range themselves in order the various tenures of land and the classes of people who hold them. As we set about studying the tenures and classes, however, we find them always covered under a ubiquitous institution, called *shiki* (職), which at first mystifies and baffles us. After an effort, the veil is torn, the *shiki* is exposed, and the whole life of the *shō*, with all its classes and tenures, is revealed before us. What, then, is a *shiki*?

Suppose that you own a piece of land, and let it to a tenant; that he plants rice on it, and, when the harvest is gathered, divides the crop into two parts, keeping one for himself and rendering the other to you as rent; and that you, too, divide your share, and give up a part to the government as a tax. Here we have a distribution between the State, the proprietor, and the tenant, of rights and interests relative to a single piece of land. These rights and interests may be distributed differently, and be further divided and vested in more parties; and still they will all be derived from the same piece of land. A *shiki* of land is a separate right or profit derivable from it that is vested in a person—after whom it is named; as, for instance: the seignior-*shiki*, proprietor-*shiki*, tenant-*shiki*, or the like.

Of all the *shiki*-holders of a given piece of land, it is evident that the highest in rank will be its titular head; while, at the same time, the one whose control over the land is the most real will be he, whatever his title and *shiki*, who actually possesses and exploits the land. The former is the seignior, and the latter the producer; the seignior has secured the public immunity of the *shō*, and the producer bears ultimately all its private financial burden.

True to their genius for adaptability, the Japanese of the Middle Ages displayed a remarkable flexibility in their disposition of the *shiki* of *shō*. They divided and redivided landed interests, it would seem, as far as they dared, and conveyed them from person to person with great freedom. So long as the dues were forthcoming to the seignior and others who were entitled to them, there was naught to prevent the *shiki* of the same tract of land being held by or circulated among many people, and the same person controlling *shiki* of different grades and qualities derived from many pieces of land, even in different seigniories.

Of this singular phenomenon, I shall later offer an interpretation; but even a reflection will show that, in an age of unrest, this freedom about *shiki* must have been a powerful aid to the smaller proprietors in their struggle to retain their possession of the use of land; for, even after they had been obliged, for self-protection, to yield to others many *shiki*, they would thus still be able to reserve for themselves and their heirs the *shiki* of actual exploitation. The mobility of *shiki* did more: it enabled the chief holders in *shō* to transfer some of their *shiki* to potent seigniors whose immune character could then accrue to the *shō* as a whole. What *shō* would not seek to avail itself of this attractive opportunity to make itself tax-free?

Here, let us understand clearly that *shiki* and "tenures" coincided with each other to a certain extent, but were not identical. *Shiki* were more readily divisible, detachable from land, and movable among individuals, than tenures; for *shiki* were not so much, like tenures, the terms under which land was held, as profits derived from land, irrespective as to whether land was actually held or not. Tenures were primarily conditions; *shiki* chiefly meant incomes. Rights, rather than obligations, were innate in the idea of *shiki*. As a consequence, while the word "tenure" would seem inappropriate when it was applied to the holding of the warrior lord, the term *shiki* was as strictly germane to the status of the seignior as to that of the tenant farmer.

A counterpart of the idea of *shiki* was, however, not unknown

to Europe. In fact, it may be said that it was a kind of forced application of a similar notion to church lands in France after the eighth century that caused the creation of the *precarium* for the knight which later became the *beneficium* and the fief. But the European *shiki*, if I may use the term, seem always to have been more closely connected with land, and never to have been so far detached and sublimated and so freely conveyed about as in Japan. I shall have occasion later to suggest that there was an underlying cause for this significant difference, and that the difference produced far-reaching consequences that made the two systems of feudalism divergent in important respects throughout their history.

We now return to the middle of the twelfth century, and complete our survey of the typical *shō*. As we understand the plasticity of its *shiki*, we are accordingly prepared to meet with tenures of land that are mobile and classes of people that are changeable, and we shall not be disappointed.

First, tenures. It is possible to distinguish three main divisions of tenures, according to their origins. There are free tenures of possession which have been derived from the first cultivation of the soil, or from purchase or other modes of outright acquisition, and which can therefore be bequeathed or disposed of at will, the seignior exercising little or no interference with them.² I am not yet certain if they all owe dues to him, but am at present inclined to think that some of them at least do not at first. When, however, the holder of a free land gives up the title over it to the seignior for the purpose of protection or immunity, a second class of tenure results—that of the commended land. Here the seignior becomes the titular owner, but in fact is, in all the normal cases, merely entitled to certain dues from the land, for the commendor usually remains as its possessor and user, and continues to dispose of it as he pleases, though

⁽²⁾ In a petition presented to the imperial court by a Buddhist temple, in 1126 (大治元年十一月十九日), occurs the following: 「於不背本家者, 任不妨傳領, 至于對持之時, 更不用相承。」 From 東大寺文書, 第一回探訪, 一。]

it is henceforth burdened with the dues he has promised to the commendee. In Europe, commended lands are quickly assimilated to the *precarium*, but in Japan their conditional freedom usually persists through inheritance and conveyance.³ The third class of tenure comprises *shiki* that have been granted either by the seignior or by the proprietor, and are usually hereditary, but presumably, at least at the beginning, inalienable without permission.

I have arranged the three groups of tenures in a descending scale of their freedom, the tenure of possession being the freest and that of grant the least free, while that of commendation stands midway. If the seignior is human, as he proves only too often, he will be eager to reduce the first tenures to the level of the second, and the second to the third,—that is, to induce the proprietor to commend his land, and the commendor to become the recipient of a grant. We find the seignior in 1150 involved in this human endeavor, and the proprietor and the commendor engaged in their human effort to resist it. And in this mutual struggle, either due to the prevalence of one influence over another, or in order to save a tenure-holder from a threatened downfall, or as a compromise for the time being, the *shiki* are being divided and moved about oftener than ever.

Similarly, the *shō* as wholes are seen to enjoy varying degrees of freedom as regards their relation to the seignior. The freest *shō* are those that have in their entirety been originally commended by their proprietors, whose descendants continue to occupy the post of managers. The least free are the *shō* granted by the Imperial House to the seignior, who has since allowed

³) I have not met in this period with cases like the following. In this the commendor receives back the proffered piece of land still as a *myō-shu*, but in a precarious tenure. Note that the date is 1289.

請申 東大寺般若會料田名主道濟年預得分米事
右 任先例, 每年五斗(八合升定)十一月中, 為名主沙汰無懈怠, 可令道濟之。若令致懈怠者, 任會米之請文, 可被宛行名主於他人, 其時更不可申子細之狀如件

正應二年九月二十三日 木願主源少法師丸 (判)

From 東大寺文書, 九十六卷本, 五五。

men to settle and cultivate them. The seignior must placate the hereditary possessors of the commended *shō*, but may compel the settlers to obey his will. Between the two extremes, there are many *shō* with intermediate degrees of freedom. Here, again, the seignior is anxious to bring down all his *shō* to the level of the least free, but his success is as yet meagre.

Next, the classes of people in the *shō*. The chief class is called the *ju-nin* (住人), "residents," a term familiar in documents and records from this time on. Presumably most "residents" are descendants of those local celebrities of historic families whose names abound in the older annals. Many of these men have lived in the place for generations, control its freer tenures of land, carry arms and keep retainers, have even served at the capital in minor capacities, and have generally established their prestige as the leading inhabitants of the *shō*. In their position as proprietors of land, they are the *ju-shū* (地主), "landholders," and, as such, form the backbone of the *shō*, representing its population and guarding its interest. The seignior has perforce to depend on their good-will and cooperation, whether in the administration of the affairs of the *shō* or in its defense against aggression from without. In some localities, their influence, as armed men, is even greater, for it is none other than these "residents" who, under the name *bu-shi* (武士), "warriors," have sworn fealty to the military chieftains, and are ready to support them to the political control of all Japan.

We now come to the important class of people known as *saku-nin* (作人), "cultivators." The institutional history of this class is obscure, and my study of it is still quite unsatisfying. But what few glimpses we gain of it are at once interesting and characteristic. I have no time to enlarge upon the several sources before the tenth century from which I suppose the "cultivators" to have descended, or upon the manner in which I believe "landholders" and "cultivators" to have still been, in many instances, undifferentiated. Then gradually the two became separated, at first probably as different individuals, but

presently, at least from the early eleventh century, oftener as distinct *shiki* than as distinct persons. Now the cultivator-*shiki*, like the landholder-*shiki* and all other *shiki*, is mobile. As individuals, the "cultivator" ranks below the "landholder," tilling the latter's land and paying him dues. As *shiki*, however, the cultivatorship of a piece of land is in theory lower than its landholdership, but may in reality be vested in any person even higher than the landholder. I have seen cases of small proprietors offering cultivatorships to great seigniors. It is not seldom that the same person holds the cultivator-*shiki* of several tracts together with the landholder-*shiki* of others. And the *shiki* continually travel and change, combine and separate.

It is evident that the so-called "cultivator" is far from being a serf tied to a piece of glebe, but is the holder of a profitable right and often himself an employer of laborers. Are then these laborers serving under "cultivators" real serfs? Does the serf exist in the Japan of the twelfth century? I am yet unable to answer these questions, but can only say that the scanty evidence I have met with suggests to me that those laborers are rather men hired for wages in one form or another, than serfs bound down to the soil with customary services.

Let us now conclude our survey of the full-grown *shō*. The *shō* is not a public administrative division of territory, but a private domain which, however, has succeeded in assuming its own financial control, and consequently winning a large degree of autonomy both political and judicial. Nor is the *shō* divided into districts with definite boundaries, but consists of farms scattered over rather ill-defined areas and loosely held together by a network of varied and changeable tenures. Nor yet is the *shō* a village community: except the irrigation required for the rice-culture, there is little in the agricultural life of the *shō* that calls for common regulation and management; each farm is managed independently by its holder. Neither is the *shō* a feudal domain; its seignior is not a warrior, and his hold over its land and men is singularly slight; he merely receives the stipulated dues from

the less free tenures, and perhaps not always from the free tenures. Such is the *shō*. It is as clear as day, I repeat, that the *shō* is not feudal ; but it paved the way for feudalism.

The *shō* of the twelfth century is not feudal : it is neither a Manor nor a Fief. And the difference from these European institutions gives rise to two important problems for the student of comparative institutions. The typical manor in Europe possesses features that resemble those of a village community : its arable land is laid out in strips of a rectangular shape and of certain regular sizes, and its cultivation, as also the management of the meadows, pastures and woods of the manor, is under the joint supervision of lord and tenants ; and the tenants hold these strips in tenures that are stationary, for each strip is encumbered with definite customary services ; moreover, the lower tenants are strictly tied down to their strips and their tenures, and are forbidden to shift. The *shō*, on the contrary, as we have seen, consists, where the ground is cultivated, of plots irregular, not only in position, but also in shape and size, and managed independently by their holders ; and many of these holders will, so long as the seignior's fiscal rights are not affected, dispose of their *shiki* as they please, and so continue to make the tenures more intricate and changeable. If, therefore, a chief problem of the origin of the manor concerns its elements of village community, the first great question of the *shō* must relate to its growth as a congeries of shifting interests and relations loosely bundled together under an absent seignior. This is the first of the two problems to which we shall address ourselves.

The other problem arises from the comparison of the Japanese *shō* with the European Fief. Though both are economic and political units that are largely autonomous, their difference in other respects is fundamental. There is an immeasurably greater coherence in the personal relation between the lord and his armed servitors in the fief than between the seignior and any class of the inhabitants of the *shō*. In the fief, the lord and vassal are bound together for services of war and council, and

the vassal receives his grant of land because he serves the lord, instead of serving the lord because he receives the land. Usually, also, the lord of a fief is himself a vassal of a higher lord ; and, in the whole chain of these relative positions, the fief or sub-fief is incapable of alienation without special sanction, for the tenure is personal ; even though the fief has by custom been made heredit-able and subinfeudable, the original personal character of the tenure is still clearly retained in the formality of a new investiture that is repeated at each succession. How different are conditions in a *shō* ! Here the relations between seignior and tenants are primarily fiscal, not personal ; the freer tenants are very nearly absolute owners of their holding, which are not only divisible and inheritable, but also alienable without restraint ; the lower *shiki* of "cultivation" does not imply a servile status of its holder, but is often held by a person of note and is as mobile as all other *shiki* ; even about those who are lowest in the social scale—the laborers on the soil—we are not certain that they are not men privately hired for wages by the individual holder of the "cultivator"-*shiki*. For a parallel with the *shō*, one should not go to the French fief, but rather to the Roman *saltus* ; and even there the resemblance will be superficial. And yet,—and this is a marvel in institutional history,—despite all the radical difference at the beginning, the *shō* of the twelfth century will be seen in the fifteenth to have become, or to have been replaced by, an institution that is charged with all the essential marks that characterize the European fief. Here, then, is our second problem : How did the *shō* become a fief ?

The remainder of my lecture will be concerned chiefly with these two great problems.

If we would understand the origin of the characteristics of the *shō* that differentiate it from the Manor, we must, I believe, return to those peculiarities of Japanese agriculture that distin-guished it from the beginning of the historic ages. Of these, I would single out two as the most vital and far-reaching in their effects upon Japan's institutional life : the comparative absence of

pasture, and the cultivation of rice as the chief agricultural industry.

Rice-culture is practised in paddies that are terraces made perfectly level, and is available only on lowlands that can be so used and irrigated. It is, therefore, practised only in plots that are so small and of such irregular shapes as are determined by the lay of the land and by the need of irrigation. What is even more important, the nature of the industry is strongly conducive to an early development of individual ownership of rice-land, whether by person or by family; for, as is well known, rice-culture requires, during a considerable space of time each year, an investment of personal labor that is more varied, intensive, and unremitting, than do other kinds of husbandry known to early agriculture. And this tendency will be emphasized if, for any reason, rice is, as was the case in Japan at least from the seventh century, of high economic value, and is used as the standard of value and as the chief article in a system of taxation that has the person or the family as a basis of its assessment.

Individual ownership may, however, be retarded even with rice-fields, if pasture is everywhere present beside them, as seems to be the case in some parts of Java, and of ancient China; for the interference of the community that is imperative in the use of the common pasture and meadow will conceivably react upon the use of the rice-land as well. I cannot help thinking that the juxtaposition of pastures and arable lands that characterized the typical manors of Europe was a great cause for the presence of that side of their life that resembled a village community. Without going further into other allied circumstances which I would discuss if I had time, I call your attention to the fact that Japan was under no special need of having so many pastures as would enter into all communities as their integral parts. If we now consider the various effects together, it will not be difficult to see that Japanese rural communities before the seventh century were not *Dörfer*, or, village communities, but rather *Einzelhöfe*, or, "scattered farms," which comprised irregular plots of arable

land, and of which at least the rice-land was under individual ownership and independent management. This state of things may be fairly substantiated from the records.

In defiance of this condition, the government of the seventh and the early eighth centuries took the bold measure, fashioned after the written laws of China, of arranging the free taxable population of Japan in artificial communities of fifty families, and of imposing upon it a system of equal allotment of rice-land subject to a periodical redistribution.⁴ Then the older native institutions of individual ownership and "scattered farms" quickly reappeared around newly tilled lands. These, under the patronage of private seigniors, absorbed land and people from public districts, and grew with such ominous facility that their importance threatened to outweigh that of the areas which still remained under the control of the state and were fast being swallowed by the new domains. These new domains were the *shō*. The *shō* was the old *Einselhof* revived on new grounds under new conditions. Among the new conditions that confronted the holders of new lands were the existence of the seignior who would tighten his control over land and men, and the social unrest and insecurity abroad that was growing worse and that irresistibly drove the independent landholders, in spite of themselves, to seek the protection and the immunity of the seignior. Notwithstanding the pressure of the circumstances, however, these men would, if they could, retain in their hands the substance, if not the outer form, of their familiar rights over the fields. They naturally, and perhaps unconsciously at first, in their struggle to maintain the real possession and use of land and to secure its immunity from public taxation, had recourse to the division and the conveyance of detached *shiki* of land, with the resultant looseness and flexibility of tenures and classes that we have seen. The excessive mobility of *shiki* seems to me to indicate behind it a great effect of the want of pasture and the prevalence of rice-culture;

(4) An imperfect discussion of those reforms will be found in my *Early Institutional Life of Japan*, Tokyo, 1903.

namely: personal proprietary right of cultivated land in Japan that was already so securely intrenched, prior to her beginning in feudal formation, as to prevent the appearance of a manorial organization, and to resist the encroachment by the seignior upon the freedom of individual possession,—an important condition which we should bear in mind if we would grasp the difference of feudalism in Japan from that in Europe.

Having briefly dealt with one of the two problems we set before ourselves, I now turn to the other. With what changes can a *shō* be made over into a fief? Evidently, first, its tenures and classes must be so simplified, rearranged, and tightened, that there should appear distinct classes, one rendering service in arms which is considered noble, and another or others engaged in productive labor and holding land in tenures that are regarded as ignoble; and, secondly, the seignior or his intendant should himself be a warrior, and the armed men of the domain should be in direct personal relations with him. These two changes—the reconstruction of tenures and classes, and the advent of the military seignior—with the other far-reaching effects that would flow from them, made a substantial progress in the first feudal period, known as the Kamakura, (the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century), but was completed only in the next period.

I shall give a tentative view of the process as it began in the Kamakura period. From a study of documents of this period, I am led to conclude with a degree of confidence that the seignior, even a religious seignior, went a long way toward attaining his object to assimilate the freer tenures with the more precarious. He now dared to confiscate *shiki* of offending "landholders" and "cultivators," and grant them to others in more dependent tenures. He also achieved similar results through awards in law suits that had been brought before his court, and through loans and purchases in which he himself was not seldom engaged. Even commended lands were now, in unusual instances, handed back likewise as grants.⁶ For reasons I need not specify, the con-

⁶ E.g., the case of 1289 mentioned in Note 3 above.

veyance of *shiki* was in general very frequent in this period, and often ended in their finally reposing in the hands of the seignior in some title or other. Such being the case even in religious *shō*, it may well be imagined that the freer tenures under military seigniors or intendants must have fared worse. It is significant that the suzerain decreed in 1270 that neither the hereditary possessions nor the granted lands of his tenants-in-chief could be alienated without his sanction, though still heritable and sub-infeudable; thirty-eight years before, hereditary domains, as distinguished from granted holdings, had been alienable.

At the same time, the classes of people in the *shō* I find to be shifting toward a new alignment. The old "resident" officials of the *shō* were gradually replaced by agents appointed or specially despatched by the seignior, whose service was rewarded either with grants of land or with stipends of rice or money. They were expected to be more subservient to the seignior, and yet the inhabitants were taught to look up to them as nobler, than the earlier local representative chiefs. The evolution of this process is sometimes seen vividly through documents.

I see an equally significant change in the status of the so-called "cultivators." They were becoming more dependent as regards the seignior, pledging themselves to a faithful performance of their duties and directly paying taxes to him (which I assume to be a new condition); but, on the other hand, the "cultivators" had been made, in relation to the "landholders" under whom they had in theory held their *shiki*, more independent and secure than in the twelfth century, for they had been brought under a more direct control of the seignior and could not be dislodged with impunity. Many, I should not say all, "cultivators" had become the sole exploiters of the soil, bearing ultimately all its fiscal burdens, and had advanced to the position where the "landholder" had been. The distinction between the two was disappearing. Below them, we again have occasional glimpses of menial laborers, but little can be gathered of their position from the rare references that occur.

If the status at least of armed men in the *shō* could be made nearly uniform, and if the tillers of the soil could be sharply distinguished from the warriors and bound down to simple, fixed tenures, there would result a counterpart of the fief. But the Japanese *shō*, even under a military seignior, does not seem to have attained in the Kamakura period even the first half of that state ; only, as we have seen, a fair beginning for progress in that general direction had been made. And it is highly instructive to reflect that this progress had at once been facilitated to that point and was restrained from going further by that characteristic Japanese institution, *shiki*. For its flexibility at the same time helped the seignior in his interference with the freer tenures, and also aided the possessor of land to cling to his last right of usufruct when all other *shiki* had been taken away from him.

For the next period, two things would seem clear :—(1) That for the completion of the organization of the fief, something was needed that should be sufficiently strong to break down the subtlety of the *shiki* ; and (2) that, even if that should take place, the historic proprietary right in Japan over land might be expected to hold its own. The divided *shiki* might largely be obliterated, but would hardly be replaced by servile tenures only.

From the second quarter of the fourteenth century, Japan entered upon the dark ages of a protracted civil war that, with interruptions, lasted till the end of the sixteenth. Amid the utmost decentralization that ensued, the period witnessed certain momentous changes taking place as if by concert in the institutional life of the whole country. Among these the most important for our present study are three parallel processes—two of them begun more or less in the earlier period, but the one completely and the other nearly finished in this period ; and a third begun only now but matured after 1600.

The first of these movements may be characterized as the consummation of the feudalization both of the administrative functions and of the land-tenure of Japan. The double process was necessarily long and many-sided, and is still largely obscure,

but the results stand out in bold outlines. We may well say that the governmental machinery was at length completely feudalized when, as we find in 1600, most of the *shō* under civil control and all the public offices of civil origin in the provinces had been seized by groups of warriors held together by personal ties of vassalage. Similarly, it is just to say that land-tenure was finally feudalized when the conquering war-lord assumed a free disposition of the domains he had won at the point of his sword, and without scruple reduced the multiple tenures of the military tenants that he found therein into a nearly uniform tenure—a tenure which, though normally capable of heredity and subinfeudation, was, under his dictatorial control, subject to a re-investiture at succession and liable to confiscation for an offence, and entailed upon its tenants definite personal services toward him. The peculiarly loose and complex *shō*, such as we found in the twelfth century, was no more, at least under military control: the average *shō* had, to all intents and purposes, been converted into a veritable fief.⁶

(6) In the following document, the *shōgun's* government enforced a re-investiture at succession upon a religious *shō*—

御 判

東大寺領山城國玉井庄事、爲寺務領 至下地者、任先例、爲寺務傳領、每度捧請文、可全領知之狀如件。

永享三年八月十七日 (1431)

From 東大寺文書, 第二回採訪, 三,

Similar conditions had penetrated down to different holdings within a *shō*. The following deed of sale indicates that the general custom affected even a sale of a non-military estate under a religious seignior; "relief" and heredity obtained side by side:—

うり渡申吉安名田島の事

合貳段者 あり

右 田島うりたいたりさゆへも、用やあるによつて、代三貫三百文にうり渡申候所實正也。但この下地になきては、しゃそんや々にいたつて、いらんわつらひ申候さも、御もちひあるましく候。しせんさ名さうかわりめの時、うけつき二百文御さた可有候、又かみかわりのこき、御ひきいて物料足百二十文御さた可有候、仍爲後日實券狀如件。

應永廿四年丙寅十二月七日 (1417)

吉 安 (判)

同吉安女姓 (判)

From *ibid.*, 九十六卷本 九三

The year 1600 saw this double transformation practically accomplished ; it witnessed another movement continued but not completed. That was a growing differentiation of the military from the agricultural class. It will be remembered that a tendency in that direction was already perceptible in the Kamakura period. The process was greatly accelerated during the next centuries of incessant civil strife. The use of the sword as the chief weapon, and then of the spear, had caused tactical operations to be somewhat more extended than before ; but under the impact of the terrific struggle for ascendancy among the leaders of this age, followed by the introduction of gunpowder about 1542, organized tactics in Japan made sudden and great progress. Warriors had become professional, and now tended to reside near their lords' castles, instead of squatting as before in poorly defensible mansions in their small rural domains ; the service they offered was in an increasing number of cases rewarded, not with land, but with rice or money ; not with fiefs, but with stipends. A growing separation of arms from land was a natural consequence. This left the peasants on the fields at once less protected, because more exposed and unarmed, and freer in status and in feeling, because more independent of immediate military control, than before. Nothing better illustrates the changed position of the peasantry of this period than the interesting history of the term *hyaku-skō* (百姓), and I regret I have no time even to outline it.

The improved position of the peasant was coincident with a third movement of the age, which, in fact, he embraced and nursed. I refer to the tendency now begun among the peasants to reverse the earlier habit of subdividing landed rights and interests, and to unite them once more with land itself. The simplification of tenures and *shiki* was apparently congenial to the spirit of the age ; as the lord reduced his vassals' tenures to mere grants in fee, so the peasants showed a decided tendency to regard *shiki* as something rooted in the soil and disposable as a

whole.⁷ Nominally, their tenures, too, were grants or rents,⁸ but, inasmuch as they were alone on the field and treated their real rights as one with land, their actual status was remarkably free. Scarcely had the lord imagined that he had succeeded in reducing the peasant into a dependent tenant, when the latter placed himself on the road to become the practical owner of the land which, under the name of a grant by favor, he in fact exploited; passed on to his heir, and disposed of with much freedom.

Below this new peasantry, we gain a clear view of another new class,—that of real tenants. They were tenants pure and simple, paying the “economic rents,” but not taxes, which fell on the landlord, and were therefore not the institutional descendants of the earlier taxpaying “cultivator,” but a natural economic class that would come into being without a special historic antecedent. The tenants formed a relatively small class, for the taxes on land being disproportionately high and the margin of rent being relatively small as a consequence, there could be but few great landlords.

In this period, also, we are at last able to prove positively that in the lowest rank of the agricultural population were domestic farm hands hired for wages. They were, of course, not serfs, if indeed there ever had been a large class of people deserving that name at any time in the history of the *shō* and fief in Japan.

I shall conclude this period with a word of comparison with European feudalism. It would seem that the European system

(7) Such phrases as follow, showing the union of “landholder”-*shiki* and “cultivator”-*shiki*, are frequent from the latter part of the fourteenth century:—地作共; 地主作主農買得; 地作一圓知行; 地作一圓御下地. In an order from a seignior, about 1595, consequent upon the receiving of a domain from the suzerain, occurs the following:—知行之儀者,來年丙申從三月中旬,以土田平均可被分量事. 付百姓也可爲同前事. From 東大寺文書, originals in possession of the Tokyo Imperial University Library, 十四, No. 106. Here, in the new dispensation of grants, division of *shiki* seems to have been done away with.

(8) From the middle of the fifteenth century at least, “cultivator”-*shiki* are often, on the face of documents, revocable grants, accompanied at times with specific dues and profits.

offers parallels to all the changes that I have noted but one. In the feudalization of government, in the formation of the fief, and in the comparative simplicity and fixity of tenures, the student of the one system will find in the other, institutions so familiar as to seem almost disconcerting. But the relative freedom of the Japanese peasant strikes a strange note that does not chime with the Western system. How can we account for this difference? The time is approaching that I must close. Remember, at one end, the comparative security of the proprietary right of rice-land that had characterized Japanese agriculture throughout the historic ages, and, at the other end, the relatively late and sudden progress in organized tactics, in the sixteenth century, that cleared the fields of the squatting warriors. I leave you to fill in the intermediate gap between these two ends of the process.

The third and last period of Japan's feudal history, 1600-1868, may be dismissed with a few words. Remember the main currents of the institutional movements of the past ages: the consolidation of land with landed interest already begun, the separation of land and arms almost accomplished, and the complete feudalization of land-tenure and of local government. A little reflection will show that no régime would remain purely feudal, if its peasants were too free and if too many of its warriors were detached from land; the same forces that had carried to its consummation the feudal organization of Japan, had also created conditions subversive of it. And yet the new rulers of the seventeenth century fully admitted these tendencies, and made them the foundation of the remarkable government that they elaborated. Having at last unified all Japan torn for centuries by civil war, the Tokugawa suzerain was concerned more with the problem how to preserve the peace and power he had earned, than with the question how to make his régime purely feudal; it was, in fact, certain that peace and power could not be maintained if the régime were forced back to feudalism. He, therefore, frankly extended to his rule of the

whole the principles of feudal government and feudal land-tenure that had developed separately in its parts: he regarded the entire realm as a vast domain, as it were, with its control centralized as far as was practicable in his council at Edo; and carved four-fifths of the total area into some three hundred feudatories, many of them arbitrarily, and assigned them, under the name *han*, to as many barons, as fiefs held of him, with the familiar forms of fealty and re-investiture. In the remaining fifth, which the suzerain retained as his own domain, his policies, both about the warrior and about peasant classes, were, if anything, even more pragmatic. As regards the warriors, he deliberately increased the proportion of landless stipendiaries. As for the peasantry, he, on the one hand, gave a generous measure of self-government to its communities, and, on the other, treated the modest land holdings of the peasants as definite unitary possessions, and as such safeguarded them with great care, keeping the rural population in a state of mild contentment and fairly equalized poverty.⁹ And the example was largely copied by the barons in their respective fiefs. The result was a régime in which were combined and balanced with unusual skill both feudal and non-feudal elements of society, and centralizing and decentralizing tendencies and forces of government. The system was, of course, no longer purely feudal, either on the whole or in its parts, either in its warrior class or in its peasantry.

This was the régime that had been made possible by, and was strictly logical to, the peculiar evolution of Japanese feudalism of the preceding periods; and was the régime that held sway over Japan till half a century ago. From it she emerged with experiences both of feudal life and of a species of centralization, both of self-government in the village and of organized discipline in larger areas,—with the warriors loyal and capable of self-sacrifice, and the peasants docile and provided with remarkably even

⁹ A fuller account of the peasantry under the Tokugawa rule will be found in my "Notes on Village Government in Japan After 1600" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for 1910.

shares of landed wealth. This is the foundation upon which the New Japan has had to build its national life. Would this foundation have been possible but for those controlling forces that had like colored threads run through the varying institutional fabric of the past ages which has been the subject of this lecture?

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE.

CHARLES F. SWEET.

Professor Asakawa's account of the Feudal System in Japan brings to our Society a contribution for which it has long been waiting. Now it comes in rich measure with all the evidences of patient research among sources, wise discrimination of vital elements, calm and reasoned judgments passed upon them, and that aloofness from over-confidence when confronted with doubt which ought to mark the scholar's manner. If we add to these merits the literary finish of his Paper with its diction, so choice and precise yet so clear and elegant, we have a Paper which deserves a place in the first rank of the contributions which have been made to the Society's Transactions.

It was, in fact, the excellence of Dr. Asakawa's work which emboldened me to place beside it an outline sketch of the origins of European feudalism, at least as regards its formative elements. If it does no more it may serve to give scale to his work, and, I hope, afford some means of comparison of the two systems in their parallels and contrasts.

I limit my sketch to the origins, for to attempt to find in the crowded complexities and mazes of the fully developed feudalism of Europe a guiding principle is a sheer impossibility.

The energetic, formative agencies of the Feudalism of Europe were two: the Roman system and the Barbarian. Their place of meeting and their field of action was in Gallo-Roman society. There, in what was to become France, feudalism showed itself, spreading thence in varying force, and with varying results and manifestations, which must be passed by with a mere mention, over the Empire, through Italy and Spain and England.

The Roman system had as its living seed the idea of the State (*Civitas*). The public interest was expressed in public law ; there could be no state within the State ; there could be no classes exempt from the force of public law or beyond its range, no individual or private particular rights from which any individuals were shut out.

All this was expressed in one strong phrase in that ancient codification of Roman laws known as the Twelve Tables ; "there are no private laws" (*non sunt privatae leges.*)

Long before the Western Empire had begun visibly to totter to its fall German invasions along the eastern borders had been filtering in, slowly sapping the guarding walls and so weakening them that when Roman arms were from bitter necessity withdrawn, one vigorous thrust by Frankish bands of warriors, few in numbers but fierce in purpose and ruthless in action, broke down such defences as there were, and the western lands lay at their mercy. That land—which from those conquerors we call France—was then as much Roman as if it lay like the Campagna round the walls of Rome itself. Well it might be Roman after five hundred years of the wise Roman administration.

But those Franks had not broken in upon the Empire from mere lust of conquest nor from mere thirst for blood. They knew their own quality as barbarians, and they knew the worth of the highly cultured society upon whose possessions they then laid their hands. They looked up to that society as capable of teaching them and at once, as far as well could be, assumed to continue the institutions which they found there.

Bringing in their own customs they found some Roman institutions which were sufficiently like their own to afford a means of junction. Among these was the Roman patriarchal form of common life where there was a Patron and his Clients. This was enough like the German system (as we find it stated by Tacitus in his *Germania*) of groupings of emulous warriors

around a war lord ; to form a fairly easy means for transforming the Roman into the German group.

The Barbarians too were accustomed to distribute the spoils of successful war in a double way, sharing gold and all movable goods among the chiefs and handing over to them lands upon condition of their rendering military service to the Prince.

But, although the warriors of Clovis were not more than a few thousand in number, so great had become the loosening of the bond of one public law that there was no coherence in the fabric of society and conquest became easy ; nor was it achieved fully by a series of successful advances ; it was total and simultaneous. Fear and distrust immediately caused men everywhere to seek security. The one public law which had hitherto sufficed for this having gone, local influences came into play. Sovereignty was no longer known and felt as universal but as limited and localised. The weak gathered round the strong for the sake of protection, finding that none was afforded by any central government administering law. In this way state sovereignty was gained by local provincial rulers, or parcelled out among them with the inevitable effect of making them sufficient for themselves and, accordingly, of alienating them more and more from the throne and its needs and interests. Each feudatory exercised in his own domain all the powers of true sovereignty, making peace and war, imposing taxes, dispensing justice, bestowing distinctions and honours.

Another effect was the isolation of districts and regions mutually.

Naturally also the strong could promise protection only upon terms. These might be hard, involving the surrender of titles to lands or offices and the receiving them back upon surrender of certain tokens, or for valuable consideration duly passed, in which was *characteristically* included the promise of military service to the lord.

Under the stress and pressure of these forces the State as

such, and the very idea of the State died out, law disappeared, and all vitality in the political region lay in the bond of military service rendered by vassal to lord, and the correlative protection the lord afforded the vassal. Feudality rested on the two principles,—localisation of sovereignty and heredity of the fief, which necessarily tended to suppress the regular action of central authority upon the extremities. Each feudatory was master at home and governed his domain according to his own will. Every lord administered his own authority. If the King delegated any portion of the authority which was left to him to any of his court (for instance) the latter grasped this concession and kept it for himself and his descendants. There thus arose fiefs of land, fiefs of money, fiefs of service, and fiefs of honours. Just as in the latter days of the Roman Empire every citizen became an official, so now every official turned into a vassal.

There remained but one, supreme, resource for checking this excessive dislocation of sovereignty, donation to the Church. The authority of the King was never altogether done away with over the Church. It was not possible to bring in the principle of heredity as to ecclesiastical offices. The royal authority—the *regale*—was jealously guarded here, and at each change of office-bearer, the King took again the disposition of the benefice, never renouncing his authority over these “temporalities.” [It is this, anomalous as it seems, which persists to-day in regard to Episcopal nominations in England.]

To leave our statement concerning feudal-organization of society in this form is misleading, for it implies uniformity in conditions; whereas in fact uniformity in this breaking up of the State was impossible. All lords, for instance, were not strong; all vassals were not in need of protection. The position of a lord was often one of unstable equilibrium, in which he was moved to concede to some individuals or to certain bodies, a part of his own public power. The feeble lord, or King, had to yield before his strong subjects. In order to preserve his power, which in such cases would hardly be more than nominal, he recognized

and validated those lesser powers which were set up around him. Otherwise these would have been a menace to his greater titular authority.

Thus the State pulled itself to pieces, for all these immunities, benefices, and privileges (*immunitates, beneficia, privilegia*) were usurpations upon his authority which he had legitimated to his own detriment. Thus the system of privilege or of particular law was at once the instrument and the consequence of its ruin.

These cases were originally exceptional, but little by little the possession of these powers grew into rights and could be transmitted. The whole effect upon society at large was to break it up into little societies, distinct and independent. He who possessed these little groups had no closer union with them than the somewhat lax tie of *fidelity*. Through the natural combinations arising from the play of interest in land and soil a new political system took birth.

Human society possesses one gift which induces and urges it to seek to alleviate the ills under which it suffers, and stimulates it to devise new means for bettering conditions, and to invent new weapons for defence. This gift is *hope*,—a purely human quality. So far as we know it does not exist among ants or bees; and we have very high authority for believing that it does not exist in heaven; there all is fruition.

Hope then spurred men in the miseries and brutalities of feudalism to run together, to form associations for mutual advantage. The strictest and most reserved private life needs a certain measure of public life in order to be human. We cannot trace the steps or phases of the growth of associations in feudal times. However useful the various Guilds, Companies, or Unions were to their members, they practically completed the destruction of the State. Yet by reaction, or perhaps by momentum they brought about the final phase. These groupings went on ceaselessly until the feudal contract constituted a mutual assurance league between lords and vassals from top to bottom of society. The vassal gave his pledge of fidelity, aids, military

service, presence in the sessions of his lord's court of justice, and in turn received not only protection but justice and security.

But the effect as a totality was disorganization. And the marks and notes of disorganization are seen in the deep interior cleavages, the intense miseries of the poor, the wasting of all energies which would make for social health, enfeebled action within, weakness in the face of enemies outside. Only restoration of the State as a universal sovereignty could overcome these evils. And accordingly we see now the steady growth of royal power. It had never been effaced, subsisting continuously even though enfeebled and reduced, continuing to enjoy the prestige of long tradition. The King had not always been stronger than individual great nobles, yet always the head. Little by little the Capetian Kings had become chief proprietors in France. Under the Valois Kings the full-grown feudal State reached its culminating point. We have a right to look within and to see in the course of historical evolution at this point more than the effort of Kings to gain all power. No doubt that was their own motive, but they and their purposes were but portions of the whole, and their activities were phases in a vital growth whose end is not even yet in sight.

After the Wars of Religion in the sixteenth century Henri IV brought into being the absolute monarchy, but here let us note that, paradoxical as it may seem, in this absolute monarchy individualism received an apotheosis: It was not the desired, the needed State. At any rate it was not a Commonwealth, for there is no community of right where the nation as a whole is the private property of one man. No restoration of public right was brought about through the re-gathering of all power into the hands of even so popular a King as Henri IV, who wished that in every peasant's hut there might be a chicken in the pot for the day's dinner. And when the grand days of the long reign of Louis XIV came, he, though he took as his proud motto the words *rec pluribus impar*, was unequal to the one need of the hour, to make all Frenchmen equals. For in the

splendour of the court there was no cure for the ills that so deeply afflicted every part of the nation, every grade of the social order. The ills worked by feudalism were still deeply lodged in the social fabric. For where as at first there were no private laws there now were none but private laws. Privileges are nothing else than private laws, not only etymologically but in purpose and in scope. Upon the body politic lay the oppressive weight of absolutism. Within the body, poisoning social life, paralyzing the nerve of growth, strangling moral forces, was the cancer of privilege.

It needed the strain and agonies of the great Revolution to throw off the leaden cope of the absolute monarchy and to dig out the malignant growths.

We began with the Roman rule of public law. We saw the bewildering complexities of feudal chaos. We see at the end the restored State with new public right—a Commonwealth dedicated to justice.

It is no part of my purpose to do more than sketch the line of feudal development. Still, a word must be said as to its work in other lands than France. As regards Germany a paragraph may sum up its political outcome. From the middle of the thirteenth century Germany was only an anarchical federation of principalities and republics. There was no longer collective life, no army, no financial administration, no justice. War was everywhere and there was no other right than the right of the fist (*Faustrecht*). To protect themselves princes and cities made leagues for the sake of peace, but these leagues were bellicose, for they sought to end war by means of war. Over this chaos there was a monarch always called the Emperor, yet he was no more than a petty German prince exploiting his dignity to make the fortune of his House. "Everybody for himself" was the watch-word of Germany then. That country which seemed in the tenth century the nearest of all the Carolingian lands to unity had, under feudalism become fixed in anarchy.

As for Italy, although it remained until our own days par-

celled out, it was not so naturally. Just as in France a Germanic race, the Franks, once settled on Gallo-Roman lands and, mingling its blood, its mind and its laws with the blood and mind and laws of the earlier population, became the framers of a nationality, so too in Italy the Ostrogoths could accomplish the same work. The Papacy counted them as foreign enemies. When the Lombards were on the point of occupying Rome she appealed to the Franks. Charlemagne took the place in northern Italy of the King whom he had overcome, but he left standing in the south both Lombard duchies and countries under Byzantine rule. These all—the southern duchies, St. Peter's State, and the northern kingdom—made the beginning of the Italian polyarchy. Later on feudal principates and republics were formed. Later still most of the city-states were in turn transformed into principalities. Machiavelli attributed, with some show of justice, the disorder of Italy to the Papal state.

Spain was practically cut off from Europe from the seventh century, owing to the Saracen conquests. For seven centuries the struggle for deliverance went on, almost totally without help, successive Christian kingdoms making war against several small Arabian states. In the fifteenth century the situation became simplified. There was but one Arab state then, the kingdom of Grenada, and four Christian kingdoms, Navarre, Portugal, Aragon, and Castilla.

In England feudalism had less the note of parcelling out than elsewhere, since the Norman kings to set it up there brought and kept much more universal power than any continental kings ever possessed. This order of a well regulated monarchy and the power of the monarch produced an unlooked for effect: political liberty. Precisely because the king had everybody under his hand, because the rights and duties of all were marked with exactness, because each was easily in touch with all, because they saw each other, touched elbows, were acquainted with each other, resistance to a power that was too strong for the public welfare was easily organised, and at the first stroke

reached its end. Two articles of Magna Carta gave England two guarantees of liberty, the jury and Parliament.

English society did not break up into separate castes. It had its degrees but no barriers. So at last Saxons and Normans intermingled and composed together a national language. From the fifteenth century onward England has been more than a State ; it became a nation.

Agencies of Feudalism in Formation.

As regards men it lay in the "Comitatas," a company of chosen youth gathered round the prince, in peace as his guard of honour, in war as his body-guard. This company which was near the prince and strove to gain his approbation received the spoils of battle and promised such service as befitted their free state and their dignity. There was enough of likeness to the well established ancient Roman relation of patron and client to make it easy to carry the German *comitatus* into Gaul. (Vide Tacitus : Germania XIII, XIV.)

As regards land tenures there is more complexity and less light. There was a Roman form of tenure called *Precarium*, by which lands were in form granted not for income but for friendship or for a reward. In this the lessee had no right against the grantor. In the times of the Carolingians the lands of the Church were in fact seized under colour of the *Precarium*, a small portion of income going back to the Church, the major portion being used to support troops. By a sort of fiction the title was supposed to remain in the Church as grantor, but, since she had no power to enforce these rights they gradually died out, and by degrees those who held the lands so "granted" were brought into the feudal relation, a written contract came into use, the holdings were given a definite duration ; at last even rights of heirship through natural descent grew up, provided always that the feudal duties could be rendered to the proprietor.

In the words of Stubbs (Constitutional History of England) "feudal government was a graduated system of jurisdiction based

on land tenure, in which every lord judged, taxed, and commanded the class next below him; in which object slavery, formed the lowest and irresponsible tyranny the highest grade; in which private war, private coinage, private prisons, took the place of imperial institutions of Government.

Yet from this chaos, as from a tumultuous workshop, was to come a new historical personage, more ample and more mighty than Greece or Rome: Europe.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN

REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1917

The following is an account of the Society's work during the year 1917:—

Nine General Meetings of the Society were held during the year as compared with eight in 1915. Subjects dealt with at the meetings were as follows:—

January 24th (At H. B. M. Embassy)—Lecture by Mr. Galen M. Fisher entitled "A Sketch of the Career and Teachings of Kumazawa Banzan.

As this was the Annual General Meeting the lecture was preceded by the presentation of the Annual Report of Council for the year 1916 and the election of officers. Afterwards tea was served through the kindness of Lady Lily Greene.

February 21st (At Keio University)—Lecture on "European and Ainu, their similarity in Prehistoric Culture and Racial Features," by Dr. N. Gordon Munro. This lecture was the first of a series of three by the same lecturer.

March 7th (At the Gaiety Theatre, Yokohama)—Lecture on "The Yamato Stone Age, a Study in the South," by Dr. N. Gordon Munro.

March 21st (At Keio University)—"The Yamato Dolmen Age," by Dr. N. Gordon Munro.

April 25th. (At Keio University)—Paper on “Spring and Autumn Fires in Japan” by Edward R. Kellogg Esq. (Presented by Dr. N. Gordon Munro).

May 16th (At Keio University)—Lecture on “Confucianism as distinguished from the Views of the so-called ‘Heretical’ schools,” by Professor U. Hattori, of the University.

June 13th (At H. B. M. Embassy)—Lecture entitled “Recent Archaeological Work in Western Asia,” by Professor A. H. Sayce, Litt. D., D.D.

October 17th (At Keio University)—Lecture entitled “Yedo and Tokyo,” designed to show the significance of several important changes which took place in the capital about fifty years ago, by Professor E. W. Clement M. A., Vice-President.

November 28th (At Keio University)—Lecture on “Recent Unfinished Explorations of the Temple at Abydes in Egypt,” by Mr. Thomas Whittemore M. A.

WORK OF COUNCIL

Council meetings have been held regularly during the year.

The Council have to report the following matters which have engaged their attention :—

(1) PUBLICATIONS

The Society published Vol. XLV, Part 1, 204 pp. containing : *The Nosatsu-kuai*, by Professor Frederick Starr, a translation of the *Hogen Monogatari*, by Mr. Edward R. Kellogg, and a *Life of Yoshida Shoin* by Mr. H. E. Coleman.

In addition to the above the following reprints were made :— Vol. 1; Vol. XII, Parts 2 and 3; and Vol. XVI, Part 1. The Council has made a plan, tentatively, for ceasing to reprint such back numbers as are in small demand.

(2) ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

The Organization Committee has to report, respecting contributions, that, in addition to lectures delivered during 1917, (nine in number), as reported by the Recording Secretary, arrangements have been made for four (4) lectures to be delivered before the Society; that in addition to the three papers published during 1917, as reported by the Editor, four (4) papers have been accepted for publication in the *Transactions*; that three (3) papers are now under consideration; and that eight (8) papers are known to be in preparation with intent to offer them for the *Transactions*.

In previous annual reports, this Committee has offered suggestions for contributions along the lines of Economics and Industry, Religion and Philosophy, Biography, and Science. This year, the Committee would commend to the consideration of members and friends of the Society the following list of suggestions, relating to the effects of the war in Europe upon the life and thought of Japan. The Committee realizes that in many directions the effects of the war cannot be correctly measured while the war is in progress, nor even for a considerable time after the conclusion of the war. But while perspective is necessary for the proper treatment of some subjects, many most useful records and observations can best be gathered in the midst of the events; in certain cases, indeed, observations must be made now, or the chance is lost forever. That the war is exercising a widespread influence upon the lives and upon the minds of the Japanese people is a matter of daily observation. If some of these observations were systematically recorded, the results might have much value for future scholars.

A caution should be noted in this connection:—While the Society does not deliberately avoid all controversial topics, it should be remembered that its aim is scientific, and the Council would be obliged to decline any paper dealing with current tendencies if it were not written in a scientific temper, however valuable it might be as a record of facts.

SUGGESTED SUBJECTS FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO
THE TRANSACTIONS, DEALING WITH THE EF-
FECTS OF THE EUROPEAN WAR UPON LIFE AND
THOUGHT IN JAPAN.

Effect of the war upon religious thinking.

Effects of the war upon politics and political opinion, including
for instance questions of nationalism, democracy, party
issues, general temper of society, and international relations.

Japanese views of this war, and of war in general.

Changes in attitude toward various national ideals of western
nations, (as embodied in literature, law, philosophy, etc.).

Labor politics.

Wages in various employments, in relation to prices.

Manners and customs, in contrast with the period of the last
war, 1904-5.

Housing.

Vicissitudes of industries, such as chemical, cotton, etc.

Shipping, and Ship-building.

Inventive activities and patent protection.

Banking development.

Agricultural changes.

The progress of medicine.

(3) LIBRARIANS REPORT

During the past year nothing deserving special mention in connection with our Library has occurred. I am inclined to think that the continued depression of all minds on account of the war has had its influence upon our members, hindering them from making use of the Library.

There did appear to be a somewhat livelier interest in our collection until the summer, perhaps even longer. But since October comparatively few have used the Library. I think, however, that this inertness is only a passing phase. Let me bring to notice the words of Dr. Sayce when I showed him our Library last spring: "You have here an excellent collection, an *excellent* collection of

books; one that is most creditable to the Society and deserving of very high praise!”. And these commendatory words of a scholar of the first rank were *volunteered* by him.

Let me commend them to the attention of all our members, for the Library is at their disposal free of all charge except for postage.

The Library is in need of special funds; frequently valuable works are lost to it from lack of means to buy them.

Books and periodicals might be given to the Library by members if they contain matter germane to our purposes, and the Librarian asks members of the Society to remember the Society's Library when they dispose of books, in case they would be useful to us.

The Library, housed in Keio University (main building, on the right as one enters the University grounds; inquire at first door left in entrance hall), is open each day (Sundays excepted) from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. The Assistant Librarian, Mr. K. Kasahara will give every assistance to members desiring to use the Library. He should be addressed by numbers out of town who wish books sent them by post.

CHARLES F. SWEET.

Tokyo, December 5th, 1917.

(4) REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

In addition to the Libraries reported last year, recent subscribers to the Society and recipients of its Transactions, are:—

Colgate University Library (Hamilton, New York.)

Cleveland Public Library.

Grosvenor Library (Buffalo, New York.)

McGill University Library, (Montreal.)

Williams College Library (Williamstown, Mass.)

Brooklyn Museum (New York.)

These additions are directly traceable to the circular sent out in 1915 to one hundred leading Libraries in the U.S.A. and in Canada, drawing attention to the publications of the Society. (A similar circular was sent to British Libraries in 1914, and achieved some success.) The Corresponding Secretary was instructed, by a recent resolution of Council, to follow the matter up and address a new

circular to Libraries in all countries likely to be favourably influenced, with the object of extending the Society's activities and securing a wider circulation and sale for its Transactions.

(5) HONORARY TREASURER'S REPORT

RECEIPTS.	Yen.
To Balance brought forward 31st December, 1916	1,073.89
To Memberships	1,911.00
(A) Annual Subscriptions.....	1,198.50
(B) Arrears paid up	165.00
(C) Life Subscription a/c.....	372.50
(D) Library (30 years).....	60.00
(E) Entrance fees	115.00
To Transactions sold.....	323.75
To Murdoch's History Vol. 1 sold	210.00
To Interest, exchange and sundries.....	9.78
To Translation paid	25.00
	<hr/>
	3,553.42

EXPENDITURES.

By petties for Secretaries, Editor and Treasurer.....	281.75
By Librarian	135.00
(A) Assistant.....	120.00
(B) Insurance	15.00
By Rent, Meetings	362.30
By Transactions	2,283.14
(A) Vol. 44 parts delete 2, and Vol. 45. 1,448.36	
(B) Reprinting Back numbers, etc.	566.99
(C) Packing and Distribution	165.56
(D) Insurance	69.93
(E) Other per contras	32.30
By Murdoch's History Vol. 1.....	112.50
By Balance carried forward.....	378.73
	<hr/>
	3,553.42

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF AC- COUNTS 1913 TO 1917.

RECEIPTS.

	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
To Membership	2,224.00	1,752.50	1,525.00	1,510.50	1,911.00
„ Transactions sold	651.54	649.64	247.00	494.87	323.75
„ Murdoch's History sold	252.20	163.00	125.00	100.00	210.00
„ Interest and Sundries	171.25	73.80	10.96	46.50	34.78
Total	3,298.99	2,638.44	1,907.96	2,151.87	2,479.53
Balance brought forward	2,083.23	1,876.11	348.90	491.49	1,073.89
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5,382.27	4,514.55	2,256.86	2,643.36	3,553.42

EXPENDITURES.

By Transactions published	2,132.71	3,589.47	1,178.20	842.12	2,283.14
„ Murdoch's History	57.59	3.62	26.25	17.00	112.50
„ Library	683.05	172.00	234.96	205.00	135.00
„ Administration	290.40	118.55	73.06	252.85	281.75
„ Rent and Sundries	222.46	257.16	247.90	252.50	362.30
„ Furniture	119.95	24.85	—	—	—
Total	3,506.16	4,163.85	1,765.37	1,569.47	3,174.69
Balance carried forward	1,876.11	348.90	491.49	1,073.89	378.73
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5,382.27	4,514.54	2,256.86	2,643.36	3,553.42

MEMBERSHIP.

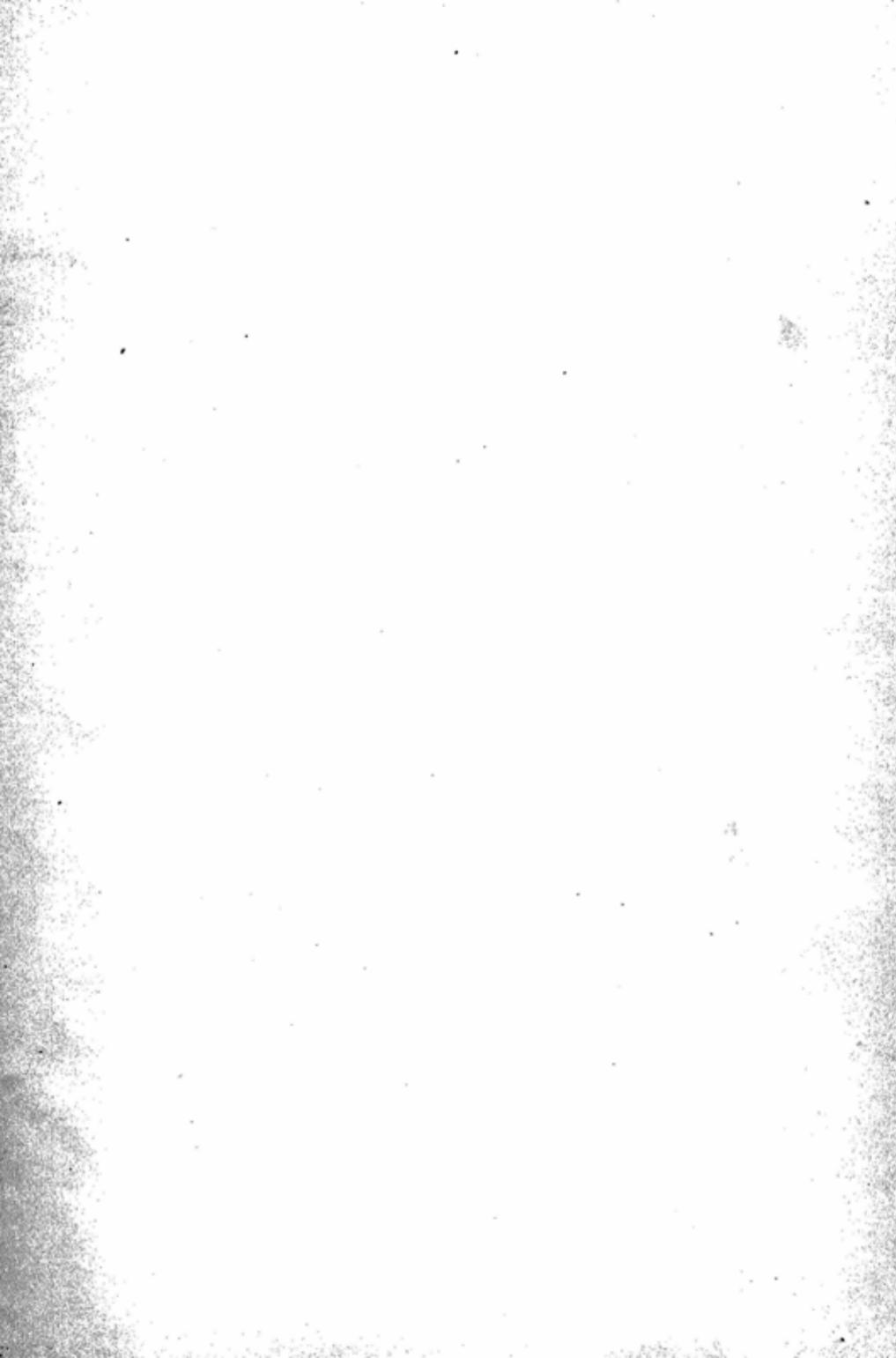
There have been recorded during the year 10 deaths, 9 resignations and 10 names have been removed for non-payment of dues or on account of communications from the Society being returned undelivered. On the other side 24 new members (20 Annual; 4 Life) have been elected, 4 have been transferred from Annual to Life Membership on payment of balances:—

Honorary Members on roll of Society.....	26
" " " living	6
Life Members	156
Annual Members	280
Libraries (30 years).....	16
Libraries (annual)	10
<hr/> Total.....	<hr/> 468

PROPERTY.

The most recent report of the stock of Transactions from the agents is at 16th October 1917. The property of the Society may be put as follows:—

Balance carried forward	¥ 378.73
Transactions say	12,000.00
Murdoch's History Vol. 1 say.....	800.00
Library (insured value)	5,000.00
<hr/> Total.....	<hr/> ¥18,178.73



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"A book that is shut is but a block"

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